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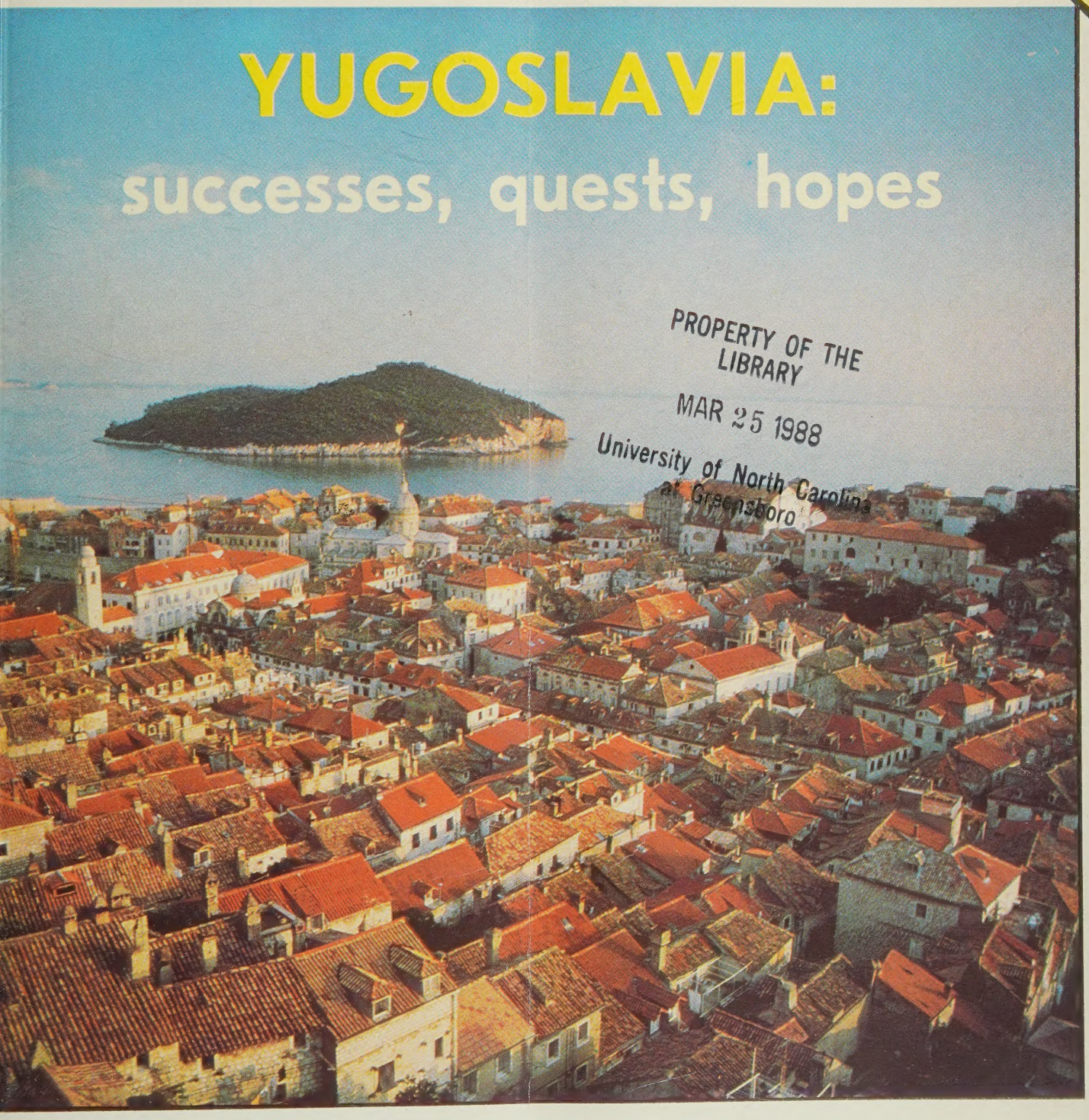
MARCH 1988

A SOVIET WEEKLY
OF WORLD AFFAIRS

NEW TIMES

Vernadsky and his noosphere

YUGOSLAVIA: successes, quests, hopes



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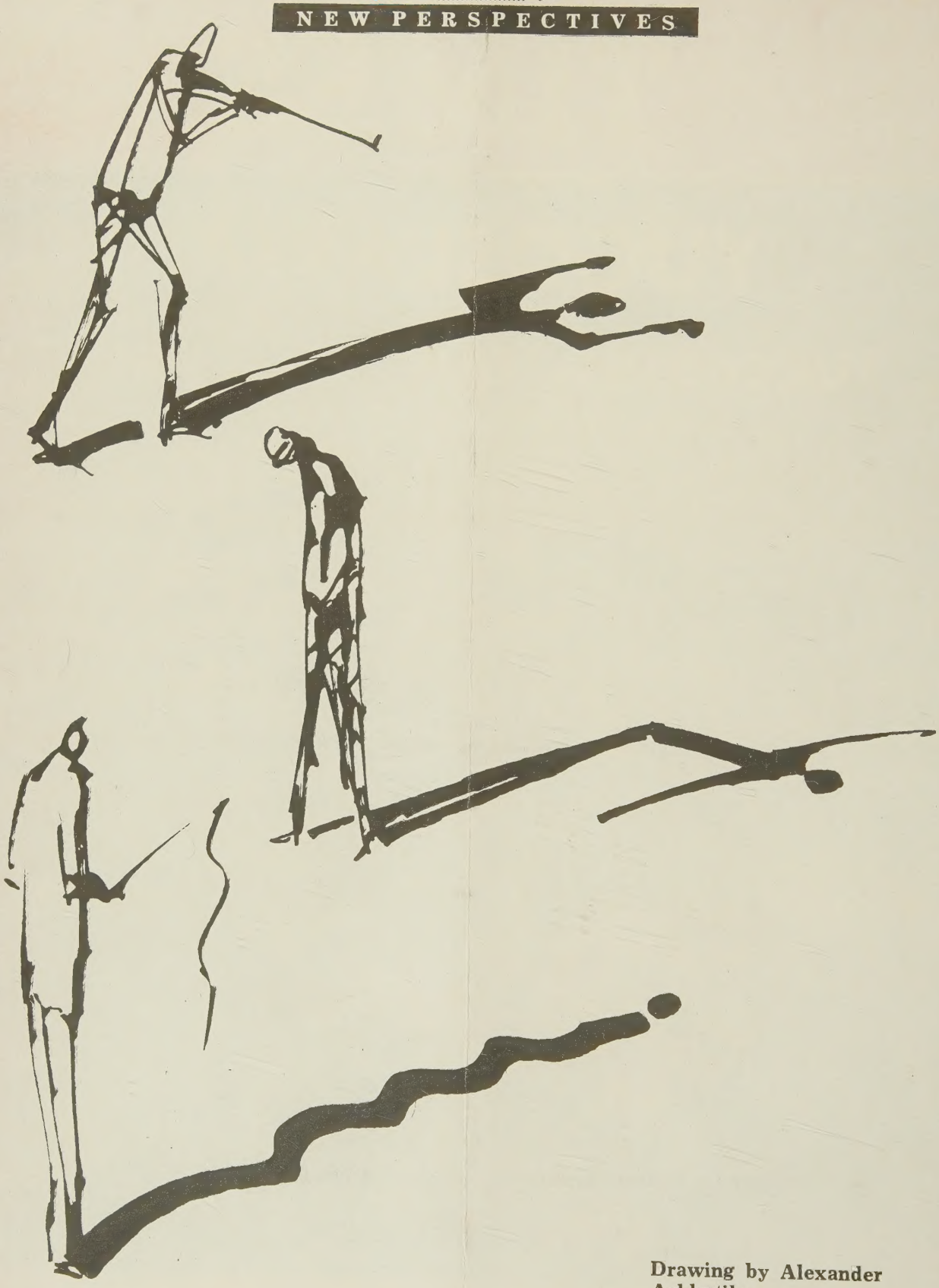
TELEVISION IN 21st CENTURY

NEW PERSPECTIVES



Drawing by Alexander Arkhutik

NEW TIMES

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The newsmen who have flocked into Geneva are trying to learn the details of the Afghan-Pakistani talks in progress there. The mediator - Diego Cordovez, a U.N. Undersecretary-General - is optimistic. See p. 9 for our report from Geneva's Palace of Nations.

The U.S.S.R. supports national reconciliation economically as well as politically. See story on page 8.

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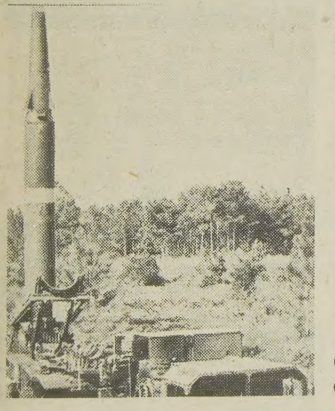

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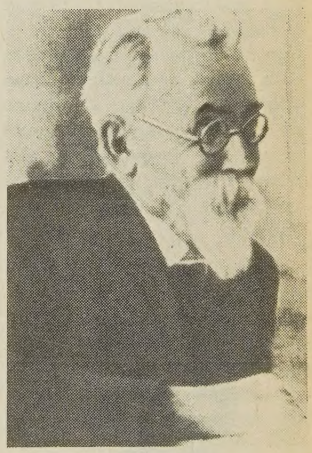

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Television
Henrikas Juskevicius
WHAT WILL THE 21st CENTURY BRING!

Cover:
A view of Dubrovnik (Yugoslavia)
Photo by V. Pchelkin

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THE WAY I SEE IT

Spanners in the works

Mikhail Gorbachev's statement is good news and is bound to be welcome to Afghanistan. The countries of the region will also be happy and the rest of the world will definitely feel its healthy side effects. His decision is an act of real statesmanship which has made it clear that the Soviet pullout is not linked with the completion of efforts to set up a new coalition government in Kabul. Even Pakistan and the U.S. consider an Afghan settlement to be close at hand. However, there is a widespread suspicion that Washington and Islamabad are not quite ready to see the Afghan issue resolved in the near future.

Until a few months ago the U.S. and Pakistan position was that the only outstanding issue was Moscow's agreement to a rapid pullout of its troops. And now President Zia ul-Haq of Pakistan has said he will not sign a settlement agreement with Kabul, and called for an interim government. Insistence on such a course would amount to serious provocation and appears to be calculated to complicate the Geneva negotiations.

The Soviet Union is in favour of an independent, non-aligned and neutral Afghanistan. India supports this stand and has done considerable work to ensure it.

A. M. SIDDIQUI
President, All-India
Muslims Progressive Front
Delhi, India

Unfounded criticism

I wasn't happy about the interview granted to Soviet television by Sir Geoffrey Howe, Britain's Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, who had come to us on an official visit. The guest's choice of words was by no means friendly. Speaking of the situation in Afghanistan, he occasionally used the word "occupation." It is common knowledge that the Afghan government asked the U.S.S.R. to give the country a helping hand. Far from "occupying" Afghan territory, the Soviet Union only helped the lawful government to fight counterrevolutionaries. And now we are working together to withdraw all Soviet troops from Afghanistan.

A. BELOVA
Dnepropetrovsk, U.S.S.R.

The cause of Lenin

I should like to express my deepest appreciation for the efforts being made by the Soviet people and the CPSU to safeguard peace. Civilization is now faced with a dilemma: to be or not to be? All except the most reactionary bourgeois circles - the military-industrial complex - want peace. Being permanently afraid is hardly anyone's idea of a normal existence. I'm too young to have seen Lenin in his lifetime, but I am happy to see his ideas becoming a reality. I especially rejoice at the further development of socialism in your country, at the gradual withdrawal of bureaucracy from the scene, and the campaign against favouritism and other negative phenomena.

TABU SENIELANE
Member of the African
National Congress
(South Africa)
Magdeburg, G.D.R.

READERS' COMMENT

Round in circles?

It is with great interest that I read articles in connection with the INF treaty in your magazine. The U.S. has not abandoned its SDI programme, and Britain and France are keeping their nuclear potential and rapidly modernizing their systems of armaments. Presumably, the NATO countries' military-industrial complexes will try to make up for the losses they have sustained by adopting other more sophisticated (and, accordingly, more expensive) weapon systems. Might we not be compelled to join in this race again?

Y. MOSKALENKO
Krasnodar Territory,
U.S.S.R.

Leave this to men

Tatyana Lyubetskaya's article in one of your issues got us both interested and indignant. She writes that soccer, ice hockey and weight lifting are exclusively male sports because there is nothing feminine about them at all (this is quite true, we admit). In the same breath, however, she tries to make out a case for fencing - but are duels, i.e., sword fights, any more ladylike than first fights?

The article in question is not really by a woman - but by an ex-world fencing champion.

A group of high-school
girl students
Kirov, U.S.S.R.

GLASNOST FROM OUR MAILBAG

OUR READERS' REFLECTIONS

... on arms reduction

In a recent interview President Reagan voiced his doubts as to the possibility of working out a draft treaty on a 50 per cent strategic offensive arms reduction by the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. Aren't such doubts at variance with the spirit of understanding which materialized in the INF treaty?

Stefan Stanchev
Sofia, Bulgaria

... on U.S. elections

A schoolboy of 16, I got interested in politics in the seventh form. While in a library recently, I leafed through newspaper files covering the period since the early 1970s and it seemed rather odd to me that whichever political party was in office in the United States, American foreign (and home) policy remained virtually unchanged. What's the difference between the Republicans and the Democrats then, I wonder? Do the two parties differ only in names and symbols?

D. SILIN
Moscow, U.S.S.R.

... on modern technology

It surprised me to learn that modern optical instruments can discern, from space, objects down to an inch across. Isn't this a threat to one's right to privacy? How can I be sure that as I sit on a Hyde park bench reading a paper, an electronic eye is not looking over my shoulder to find out what my special interests are?

JAMES BROWN
London, Great Britain

We are Canadians

I am quite convinced that Canada needs your glasnost and perestroika far more than you do! Perestroika would entail great rewards: it would demonstrate that Canadians can create their own destinies and build their own future. Instead, we seem to be doomed by our government to continue hitching our economy to our southern neighbour, the U.S. We are being linked by NATO and NORAD to the "star wars" plan, and we are being made to supply the American war economy with its raw materials and uranium, while factories here close and young people cannot afford to go to university or college, and people are being condemned to unemployment.

What hope for Canada? Someone once said we're the first "developed" country to join the Third World! Most young people are not aware that they are Canadians: TV and the movies teach them that they are Americans!

PETER RAMSEY
Belmont, Canada

The Summer Olympics coming...

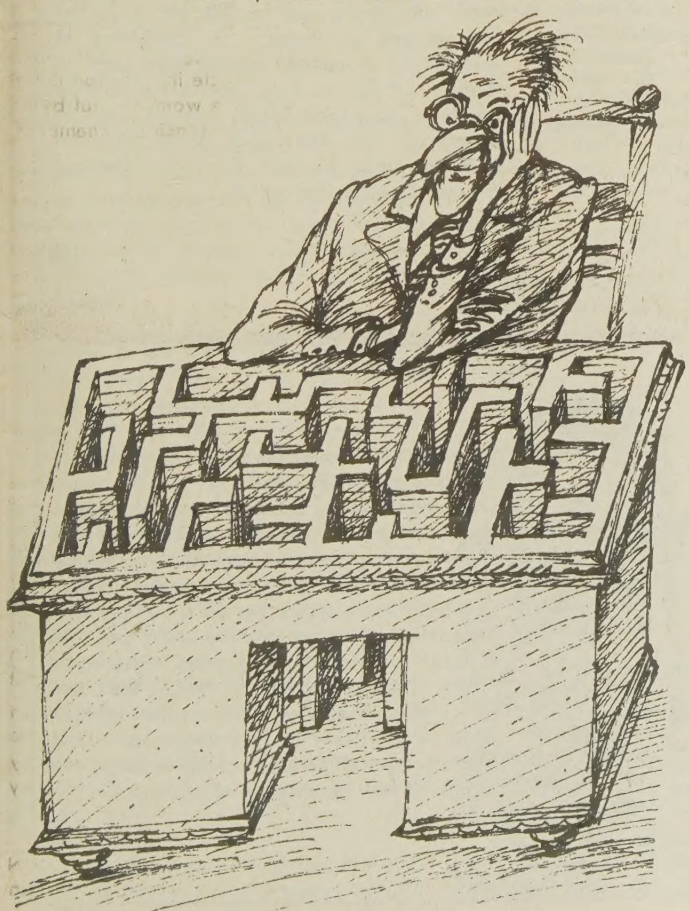
The Winter Olympics are just over in Calgary, and this year's Summer Olympics will start six months from now. Judging from what the media tell us, things are far from calm in South Korea. I feel the situation there could have its effect on sporting contests and make the athletes and the public nervous. For all the South Korean authorities' assurances to the contrary, the athletes are unlikely to feel 100 per cent safe.

E. SOROKINA
Ivanovo, U.S.S.R.

Reading is believing

I am an avid reader of articles on Soviet history and our relations with foreign countries, capitalist ones in particular. From your magazine I learned all about the Caribbean crisis. I prefer to rely on the media rather than hearsay as a source of information on the more complex periods of our history. Unfortunately, my curiosity about the "Berlin crisis" has been left largely unsatisfied.

HAMID TURSUNOV
Osh, Kirghiz S.S.R.



"Business games."
Drawing by Mikhail Zlatkovsky

GLASNOST

FROM OUR MAILBAG

EYEWITNESS ACCOUNT

Remember me, Nikolai?

I was in the Sigmaringen nazi concentration camp from 1940 to 1943, when I escaped. More than a hundred Soviet POWs were kept there, too. They lived in a separate barrack fenced off with barbed wire, and we were strictly forbidden even to talk with them. Most were young, and each could barely keep body and soul together on a starvation diet of a few potatoes and a plate of cabbage soup a day. Despite strict bans, we invented all sorts of tricks to slip them a few biscuits and cigarettes every day.

Since Soviet POW doctors were not allowed to attend to the sick, a French doctor and myself readily agreed to call on them daily, to support them and to look after them. Shortly afterwards I met Nikolai Archukov, an orderly. We had difficulty understanding each other, but the glances we exchanged and the gestures we used by way of communication left no doubt as to our mutual friendship. Nikolai brought the wounded and the sick to our barrack three times a week for the French doctor to examine them. I shall never forget those brave men...

One day the camp authorities decided to convert one of the rooms in the Russians' barrack into a punishment cell. There were many Frenchmen among those locked up there: escape attempts had become more frequent, and staying away from work had assumed mass proportions. The Germans intended to put the French, Yugoslavs and Poles into the Russians' barrack as a severe punishment: the daily ration was scantiest there. Those confined to the punishment cell were fed only rock-hard biscuits and tap water, and could not have survived without outside help.

In what was the act of genuine solidarity, Soviet soldiers passed all we had brought for their own use - potatoes, bottles of soup and cigarettes - to the punishment cell prisoners through a small hole in the wall. This went on for months.

I have vivid memories of the men from Soviet Russia who - although emaciated and ragged - never lost faith in victory and would sing their folk songs every evening. Can you imagine how they rejoiced at the accordion we got hold of? And when they gave me a bouquet of daisies, cornflowers and wild poppies on May 1, 1942 - the International Day of Working People's Solidarity - I could not hold back tears.

I would very much like Nikolai Archukov to read this letter and write to me.

ROBERT PAUMIER
Pré Saint-Gervais, France

PRIVATE OPINION

HIGHLIGHT OF THE WEEK

ZDENEK HORENI, editor-in-chief of the Czechoslovak newspaper Rude Pravo

The main event of the past few days is, in my opinion, the evacuation of Soviet OTP-22 (SS-12) tactical nuclear missiles from the territory of Czechoslovakia and the German Democratic Republic, before the Soviet-U.S. INF treaty is ratified. The siting of these missiles was an essential component of the collective defence of the Warsaw Treaty states. It restored the military -strategic balance upset by the installation of American nuclear first-strike missiles in Western Europe. The Soviet-U.S. agreement, reached in Washington by Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan, rids the continent of these weapons and removes the threat of a direct nuclear strike created not only by U.S. medium-range missiles but also by Pershings deployed in neighbouring Bavaria and targeted on Czechoslovakia.

It should be stressed that the Soviet nuclear missile base at Hranice (Moravia) was **the only one in Czechoslovakia.** This is recorded in the relevant part of the Soviet-American treaty. Thirty-nine SS-12 tactical missile units were installed in our country in 1983. Twenty-four units have already been pulled out. With the withdrawal of the remaining missiles, Czechoslovakia will again become a non-nuclear state. Under the nuclear non-proliferation treaty, our army does not have nuclear weapons in its stores.

True, one can see similar units in some parts of the republic. But these are tactical missiles with non-nuclear charges. They have been adopted for service and are known in Czechoslovakia and the West from photographs and reports on military exercises and reviews.

The Soviet tactical complexes consist of launchers, carrier missiles and nuclear warheads. The three components are being evacuated from our territory in succession. TV showed the loading of mobile launchers and then carrier missiles on railway platform cars at Hranice. The nuclear warheads are to be transported in special containers, with strict precautions taken. The evacuation is to be completed by mid-March.

The withdrawal of Soviet missiles is essentially an appeal to our Western neighbours: the security of Europe calls for joint efforts by all who live in it. This is also the goal of the initiative advanced on February 24 by Milos Jakes, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. It is aimed at establishing a zone of confidence, cooperation and good-neighbourliness in Central Europe, from which the most dangerous types of offensive weapon would be removed. The dismantling of Soviet tactical missiles in Czechoslovakia is a major step in this direction.

■

LOTHAR KOLDITZ, President of the National Front of the G.D.R.

Recently the residents of Waren and Bischofswerda in the German Democratic Republic bid farewell to the Soviet missilemen returning home. This was made possible as a result of the agreement reached by Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan at their meeting in Washington.

By its foreign policy the G.D.R. is actively helping to rid the world of nuclear weapons. Next June Berlin will be the venue for an international conference on problems of establishing a nuclear weapon-free zone in Europe. Of course, it is necessary further to mobilize all peace forces with a view to countering the designs of those who still consider arms buildup the only possible means of self-preservation.

■

CHINGHIZ AITMATOV, Soviet novelist

The recent plenum of the board of the Union of Soviet Writers was, in my opinion, unprecedented by the frankness of discussions and the depth of tasks raised by it. It was of interest not only to writers. We spoke about literature and national relations in our country. The relations between nations and nationalities must be improved, and national cultures, particularly languages, developed further. The more often and frankly, the more fully and extensively we discuss the complex issues of our daily life, the more easily and fruitfully we shall be able to resolve them. This is one of the advantages of socialism.

■

DECLARATIONS AND "COMPENSATIONS"

The first NATO summit after the signing of the Washington Treaty

It is not often that the heads of state and government of the 16 NATO countries meet - there have been only three such meetings in the current decade. The latest summit held three months after the signing of the Soviet-U.S. INF treaty was called upon to provide answers to many of the problems that had accumulated.

What next?

That's the question that interests many people, especially now after the first real step has been made towards nuclear disarmament. Naturally, NATO too has to provide answer. However, Western politicians and strategists differed in their views. Some called for furthering the "début" made in disarmament and for wider contacts with the socialist countries. Others sounded the alarm, maintaining that the treaty had breached Eurodefences, and urged that this be remedied by new weapons. And others again started looking for a happy mean between a policy of détente and a policy of rearmament.

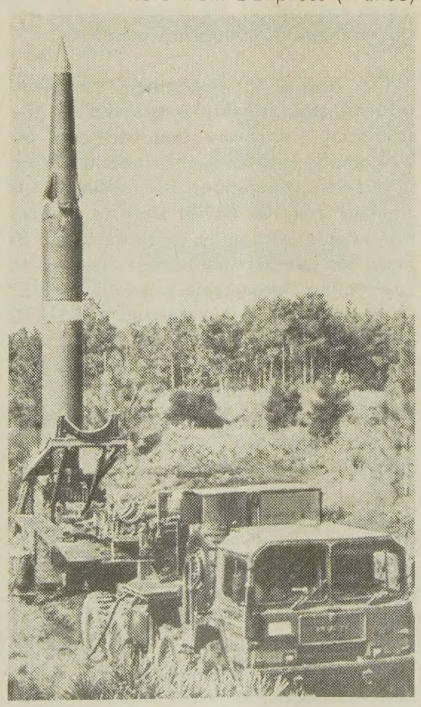
Busiest of all were the advocates of "compensation." They put forward numerous projects designed to circumvent the treaty and replace the Pershing and cruise missiles doomed to liquidation with sea- and air-based missiles. The U.S. strategic air command, for instance, proposed reequipping 150 B-52 bombers with cruise missiles with non-nuclear warheads. With their high homing accuracy they are believed equal to Eurostrategic objectives. The British government gave it to be understood that it was prepared to accept another 40-60 U.S. F-111 fighter bombers with nuclear weapons on board on British soil. Paris and London said they would consider the possibility of developing an air-to-ground cruise missile by joint efforts.

Plans for this type of "compensations," the British Independent warned, would inevitably bring accusations of "running counter to the spirit of the times" and hindering progress in the reduction of nuclear weapons. The plans are also coming in for criticism from some prominent politicians. Greece's Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou, for instance, recently publicly condemned attempts to nullify the results of the INF treaty.

The idea of modernizing NATO's tactical nuclear arsenal aroused much discussion. It was the Supreme Allied Commander of NATO forces in Europe General John Galvin who pressed hardest for it.He urged that the Lance missiles be replaced by a new system, with an operational range of up to 450 kilometres, which would be almost four times that of its predecessor. In addition to modernizing the Lance missiles, General Galvin would like to have a more powerful nuclear artillery at his disposal. For the air force, he wants a compact nuclear missile and a new generation of bombs.

The Pershing 2 (photo) and cruise missiles are to be scrapped under the INF treaty. In NATO, however, ways of making up for this "loss" are being discussed.

Photo from L'Express (France)



The idea of such modernization is backed by London and Washington. Speaking in Munich at the beginning of February, the U.S. Defence Secretary Frank Carlucci even threatened to withdraw U.S. troops from Europe unless tactical nuclear arsenals were modernized. Supporters of modernization don't want to hear anything at all about any further reduction in nuclear arsenals. They regard it as a slippery slope which could bring them to the total denuclearization of Europe. And that is a prospect that does not attract NATO.

The F.R.G., where most American tactical weapons are stationed in Europe, regards itself as a high-risk zone and wants to avoid any new dangers. Reflecting these sentiments, Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl called for talks on reducing arsenals to the lowest possible level, but not to a third zero - the complete elimination of nuclear weapons. Bonn takes the view that there should be no rush with modernization plans.

Federal Germany is not alone in its fears. The Danish parliament, for instance, called on the government to seek the elimination of shorter-range nuclear weapons. After a recent tour of Western Europe, Senator Sam Nunn acknowledged: "We don't have a NATO consensus on this issue."

On the eve of the Brussels summit, the opponents of immediate modernization received some solid reinforcement in the person of President Francois Mitterrand of France. "Now is not the time to demand rearmament," he declared, "when the world has received the chance to join in the process of disarmament." Incidentally, the President's arrival in Brussels caused a sensation, for since 1966, when Paris decided to leave the military organization of NATO, the incumbent of the Elysée Palace has not taken part in such meetings.

President Mitterrand explained his appearance at the NATO headquarters by a wish to take part in the discussions on a number of important matters.

And so there are plenty of plans in NATO for every kind of "compensation" and modernization of nuclear and conventional weapons. What there is a definite shortage of, however, is peaceful initiatives. That is why even Atlantic strategists have lately been sounding the alarm that NATO was losing points even among its most faithful supporters because of its passivity. The International Herald Tribune advised NATO to "take the initiative in arms control after months in which the Soviet leader, Mikhail Gorbachev, has steadily gained popularity with his proposals."

It is true that other methods too are being used in the attempt to reduce the popularity of Soviet initiatives and at the same time persuade the public of the need for new weapons. When, shortly before the Brussels summit, Britain's Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher visited NATO headquarters, she tried to launch a new anti-Soviet propaganda attack. "The Soviet policies abroad," Thatcher said at a meeting with journalists, "remain a serious threat. Their central objective is to separate Western Europe from the United States, dissolve NATO unity and lower allied defences. And denuclearized Europe will admirably serve their purposes."

When I asked Western colleagues what they thought of such sentiments, their replies could be summed up as "we've heard all that before." It's time for some changes in NATO as well.

A "Potemkin village" in Brussels

President Reagan summed up the main purpose of the Brussels meeting of heads of state and government of the NATO countries as to demonstrate the unity of the alliance which had led to the signing of the INF treaty and ask each other: what next? The focal point of the ceremonial part of the summit was the Soviet-U.S. agreement to eliminate medium- and shorter-range nuclear missiles. NATO's Secretary-General Lord Carrington described it as a "milestone" and a "splendid beginning." The other participants in the Brussels meeting assessed the treaty in much the same way.

But there is one detail that catches your attention: the NATO alliance tends to attribute the credit for the success in Washington solely to itself. If the West had not displayed unity and firmness, there would have been no agreement, it claims. That was stressed at meetings with the press by both President Reagan and the French Premier Jacques Chirac.

Such statements, in my opinion, reveal not only a wish to reap the propaganda harvest. Using this case as an example, NATO hopes to play down differences - both present and future.

That was also the purpose of the deliberate show of Atlantic unity made by the participants in the summit. As the paper Libre Belgique put it, a "Potemkin village" was built in Brussels. The allies tried to paper over the fairly deep cracks in order to present a facade of unity.

One of these cracks was the problem of modernizing tactical nuclear weapons. It aroused rather heated arguments, especially between President Mitterrand and Margaret Thatcher. In order to defuse the situation and give time for heads to cool, further discussions of the subject were in effect postponed.

On the eve of the Brussels summit, Federal Germany's Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher said: "The INF treaty, which has the full support of all allies and which we expect to be ratified soon, must not remain an isolated event. We want it to trigger progress in other areas of disarmament. The NATO summit can send an important signal in this respect." Unfortunately, no important signals came from Brussels. There are none in the declaration, nor in the special statement on conventional armaments - the two documents adopted by the heads of state and government of the NATO countries.

The desire to strengthen European security and stability expressed in the statement - a desire that can only be welcomed - is virtually drowned in a flood of old-time stipulations. For instance, it is claimed that the Soviet Union's military potential in Europe "is far in excess of its need for self-defence" and is geared to conducting "large-scale offensive action." At the same time, it is claimed that NATO armed forces exist solely for the purpose of "preventing war and ensuring its self-defence." Such propaganda twists can hardly be said to bear out the declared serious approach to the problem of conventional armaments.

The participants in the summit earmarked tanks and artillery as the first objectives for reduction as, so they claimed, they presented a danger as surprise attack weapons. But I don't think that is the real reason. In these weapons the Warsaw Treaty countries have a certain numerical superiority - which is why they have been named as the first for reduction. But what about the weapons in which the superiority is on the NATO side?

For instance, what should be done with NATO's numerically superior air and naval forces? NATO believes that a discussion on them should be postponed indefinitely. But is an artillery gun or tank more dangerous than a bomber and aircraft carrier? Are they less suitable for surprise attacks? While demanding that the East make much bigger cuts, and seeking the withdrawal from Europe of "tens of thousands" of tanks, NATO hasn't a word to say about its own contribution to greater stability on the European continent.

There are a whole series of points in the document of the NATO summit that arouse surprise, to say the least. For instance: the forces deployed on allied territories can in no way bear comparison with the Soviet forces in Eastern Europe. Why? It seems that the first are defending freedom, while the second are restricting it. But if that is the case, why shouldn't NATO respond to the proposal of the Soviet Union and its allies for a mutual withdrawal of all foreign troops from alien territories?

NATO used to explain its reluctance to reduce nuclear arsenals to zero by the "overwhelming superiority" of the Warsaw Treaty countries in conventional weapons. Now the Brussels declaration is offering a new version. "Although conventional parity would bring important benefits for stability, only the nuclear element can confront a potential aggressor with an unacceptable risk; therefore, for the foreseeable future deterrence will continue to require an adequate mix of nuclear as well as conventional weapons." That's put fairly clearly and no comment is required.

The second document - the declaration - is made up of the usual clichés from the Atlantic lexicon. On the one hand, it speaks of a desire for peace, cooperation, lower military levels, while on the other it urges the need to improve the military might of NATO and strengthen its European base. Having noted the "encouraging signs of change in the policies of the Soviet Union and some of its allies," the NATO countries' heads of state and government, regrettably, took no practical steps to meet these changes halfway. They put forward no new initiatives that could promote their declared intention of improving East-West relations.

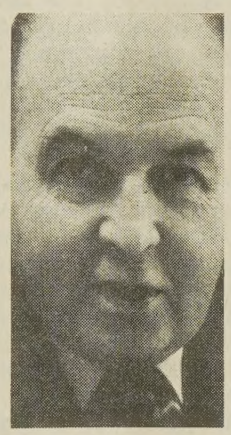
The Brussels summit was called upon to make the North Atlantic Alliance turn around to face the future. Its results, however, make one doubt if this was done.

VYACHESLAV BOIKOV

Brussels

Substitution tricks won't work

LEV BEZYMENSKY



There is an old maxim which says that while talks are in progress people don't fight. This wise observation has been made hundreds of times and is now being voiced in favour of diplomatic negotiation. However, can it be applied to the situation that we are observing today?

Not entirely and not invariably. The peculiar character and apparent anomaly of the world as the 1980s draw to a close is that though talks are in progress, people continue to fight. Of course, some people engage in talks, and others in fighting. But the interconnection and interdependence of world relationships and world conflicts are so far developed that the "negotiators" and the "belligerents" are linked by dozens of invisible threads. But why should I say invisible? Can't we see even with the naked eye that the Stinger missiles exploding in Afghanistan are manufactured in a "non-belligerent" country whose representatives are involved in numerous talks?

Don't, however, take this to mean that I am opposed to talks. Quite the contrary. For today the importance - indeed, one can say without exaggeration the destiny-deciding role of negotiation - is enormous. Humanity has pinned its hopes on the successful outcome of this process inasmuch as its failure could entail disastrous consequences on an inconceivable scale.

Yet many different kinds of talks are in progress. One could site the Soviet-American talks on strategic weapons, nuclear testing, and a range of other issues. Or the 35-power negotiations in Vienna and the NATO-Warsaw Treaty talks also under way there. The talks in Geneva in connection with the need to ban chemical weapons. The talks on Afghanistan. The talks on Central America. And so on. This all warrants our qualifying the present time if not as "a second wind for détente," for I am afraid of antagonizing all who dislike the term, then at least a time of negotiations. It is a welcome time as not so long ago the "high parties concerned" had either adopted an extremely defensive posture on many of the issues currently under discussion, or had followed the example of the three monkeys to see nothing, hear nothing, and say nothing.

That the silent chapter has passed is remarkable, indeed. How much easier it is now to breathe and hope? Don't reproach me with indulging in post-Washington euphoria, implicitly asserting that nothing has as yet been done. Not for nothing is it said that in the beginning was the word. It took a stupendous effort for a word, the word that led to the INF treaty, to be uttered and for other words to be uttered at other negotiating tables, whether round, square or oblong.

So, to sum up: the time to keep silent has passed. Now is the time to speak. But there must come a time to take decisions. Otherwise what point would there be in talks if they merely perpetuate the vicious circle of habitual formulas, convenient reservations and diplomatic web-spinning?

Geneva can provide an example

For this simple reason all of us, whether in the Soviet Union or in other countries both East and West, must note the Afghanistan talks currently conducted under the aegis of the U.N. in Geneva. Here no one can hunt for reasons to be elsewhere. We aren't doing that. "Our involvement in the Afghan conflict," Mikhail Gorbachev said recently, "represents an extremely complex problem that touches upon many aspects of what we are overcoming in the process of perestroika and the consistent transformation of the new way of thinking into practial policies." The U.S.S.R.'s practical policy on the Afghan problem has been enunciated and has evoked a widespread international response. The Afghan government's approach is also dictated by the new way of thinking. So how in this context is one to understand the reluctance of the "other side" to accept a political solution? As reluctance to see Afghanistan as an independent, neutral, non-aligned state? Or as a desire to draw out the conflict and prevent the pullout of the Soviet contingent?

Curently a new round of negotiations has begun, for which the credit must go to the U.N. as mediator. This round must and can be the last. The opportunities for this are great. To miss the bus would mean that much of significance for Afghanistan would be lost. And not only for Afghanistan! Comparisons are always approximate, but in the same way that the Washington INF accord opens up prospects for further progress in nuclear disarmament so an accord on Afghanistan could provide a fine example for tackling other problems of a regional nature, as, for instance, in Central America or Kampuchea, or even perhaps the Iran-Iraq conflict.

Is there anyone opposed to negotiation, to the very idea of negotiation? There would seem not to be. After all, who would dare say that he opposes negotiation, the search for a political solution? But there are subtler methods: for instance, the replacement of the very matter being negotiated. That is what we see with regard to Afghanistan, when attempts are being made to negotiate Afghanistan's internal affairs, actually the prerogative of its people, rather than the external conditions for a peaceful solution. Incidentally, the same thing is being done in connection with the talks concerning Nicaragua. The negotiations are thus doomed in advance.

We have heard Washington stress time and again that the solution of regional conflicts paves the way for the solution of other problems, nuclear disarmament included. Though one could take issue with that, let us rather consider the positive aspect. Let us work for the solution of regional conflicts, the success of specific talks, without replacing the matter under discussion or throwing up artificial barriers, and so advance in other areas as well. After all, the political highway has many lanes. So let us advance faster in one lane and more slowly in another. The important thing is to move forward. So let us advance along the road leading to settlement.

Said Akram Paigir's new friends

Direct contacts as part of Soviet-Afghan cooperation

My old acquaintance Said Akram Paigir may soon be one of the most famous Afghans in the Soviet Union. Should he visit one of its southern regions, he would come across people who know him personally. Paigir is not a film star or a pop singer. He is a government administrator with the rank of minister, head of the Department of Direct Ties set up last year under the auspices of the republic's Council of Ministers.

As a journalist working in a friendly country, I am rather grieved than glad to see the appearance of more offices and, accordingly, more administrators in Kabul. But my attitude to Paigir's department is different because its aim is to promote at government level a new form of cooperation between the two countries – direct ties between Soviet republics and regions and Afghan provinces.

The origin of direct ties

Soviet economic aid has traditionally been channelled into the basic industries in the public sector. It has been used for the building of roads and canals. Major projects in Afghanistan have been erected with Soviet assistance. They account for 60 per cent of the country's industrial output and 75 per cent of output in the public sector.

Soviet credits and technical assistance are paid for by deliveries of Afghan gas in large quantities and traditional exports such as wool, hides and dried fruit.

But such an approach fails to take full account of the specific conditions in Afghanistan. Only five or six provinces, where economic and other projects have been completed or are under construction, benefit from Soviet aid. As for education, medical care, culture and the training of personnel, only ten per cent of all Soviet aid has so far been used on people's everyday needs, such as these, with Kabul consuming the lion's share of aid for these purposes.

That the backward Afghan economy, crippled by the nine-year armed conflict, has remained on its feet is largely due to friendly aid from the Soviet Union. However, broad sections of the population, especially in rural areas, have not benefited from the aid.

Therefore, while helping the Afghans to carry out their policy of national reconciliation, the Soviet Union decided to support them not only politically but also economically. Foodstuffs and consumer goods intended for free distribution among the poor and in tribal areas are now pouring into Afghanistan from the Soviet Union. Afghans returning from abroad are being issued essentials from Soviet supplies to start a new life at home.

For the first time in its relations with a developing nation, the Soviet Union has granted Afghanistan a 50-million-ruble loan on easy terms for the establishment of mixed enterprises with the participation of private businessmen. Funds have been provided for the expansion of health services, education, communications and the training of personnel.

This is how direct ties – one more form of cooperation in economic, cultural and other fields – originated.

I was received by Said Paigir in his unpretentious office in Shakhr Nau, a central district of Kabul. During the conversation he named one by one the Soviet regions with which direct ties have been established by 29 Afghan provinces and the Khost district.

Last summer representatives of Afghan provinces visited the Soviet Union and signed protocols on the exchange of delegations and groups of experts to study the situation in various fields. The Soviet partners promised to send goods free of charge, help train personnel and improve their skills, and accept Afghan children at rest homes and medical centres.

"The Afghans will feel Soviet aid in their everyday life," Paigir told me. "It is granted with regard for the specific needs of each province and is delivered with specific ends in view. We would like this help to be used to build a number of small projects of lasting benefit. No less important, I think, are purely human contacts. Our Soviet friends will be known personally in the provinces and districts."

Experience and lessons

Last autumn, cargoes dispatched from various Soviet republics and regions began to arrive in Afghan provinces through the border points of Hyraton, Turgundi and Sherkhan. They include basic necessities and foodstuffs for kindergartens and schools, hospitals and enterprises, and sometimes for the needy.

But direct ties mean more than the delivery of goods. Let us take cooperation between the Surkhan-Darya Region in Uzbekistan and the Balkh Province in Afghanistan. Afghanistan has already received goods worth one and a half mln.

rubles. A new school has been fully equipped in the provincial centre, Mazari-Sharif, and more furniture and various teaching aids have been supplied to 26 schools in the surrounding districts. Medical instruments and medicines have been brought to six local hospitals. The automatic telephone exchange sent from the Surkhan-Darya Region will help to instal telephones in Mazari-Sharif. Building materials, film projectors and sports gear have also been delivered. Uzbek drillers have sunk two artesian wells in Mazari-Sharif and are to provide good drinking water for several districts. Last year about 500 wounded and sick Afghans from the twinned province underwent treatment in a Termez hospital in the Surkhan-Darya Region. More than six months of experience of direct ties have already been acquired.

This form of economic aid to our southern neighbour effectively supplements traditional ones. It helps expand the social sphere in remote areas of Afghanistan. A knowledge of the situation in Balkh Province enables the Uzbek partners to give assistance where it is most needed.

The restoration and reopening of small factories and the opening of new workshops with the aid of equipment received from Uzbekistan – something economic cooperation on a national scale is unable to take on – helps increase employment. This line of cooperation should be developed further. It is clearly inexpedient to limit cooperation to the delivery of consumer goods to the twinned provinces. The resources are not sufficient to provide the Afghans with all the goods they need in present conditions. However, the assistance can include designing, building and equipping small plants of workshops and supplying the raw and other materials for their operation.

The regular delivery of Soviet goods to remote provinces is complicated by the serious military and political situation in the country, insecurity on the roads, the shortage of means of transportation and of warehouses. Moreover, at the frontier cargoes have to be unloaded from railway containers. Since they are often inadequately packed, the goods get spoiled, lost and even stolen.

It should also be said that most of the goods delivered to Afghanistan have no clear labels or tags. As a result, not everyone will know where the gifts have come from.

Information about the new cargoes crossing the border between our countries flows daily into the Department for Direct Ties in Kabul. Whenever I visit Said Paigir's office, I meet my compatriots there. They have come to Afghanistan from various parts of the U.S.S.R. to establish and expand direct ties with twinned provinces. However important the economic effect of the new form of cooperation may be, the main thing, I think, is the effect achieved thanks to personal contacts. When a former opponent of the Afghan authorities, be he a mullah or a village elder, comes to the Soviet Union as a member of a delegation, the visit is an eye-opener to him. That is why I agreed with an Afghan proverb cited by Said Paigir at the end of our talk to express the sentiments of his fellow countrymen who had visited their Soviet friends. "Choose thy neighbour, not thy home."

VADIM OKULOV
Photo by Sher Shah
(Afghanistan)

KABUL

The last round?

Information about the indirect talks on an Afghan settlement is scarce. The Afghan and Pakistani delegations have decided to keep the contents of the talks secret until their conclusion. TASS correspondent EVGENY KORZHEV reports from Geneva:

In the morning a crowd of journalists gather in the lobby on the ground floor of the Palais des Nations through which the delegations pass to the session rooms. About a hundred newsmen arrived by the beginning of the talks in addition to more than 200 correspondents from various countries accredited to the U.N. mission in Geneva.

On their way through the lobby to the session rooms, the delegations are roped off from correspondents by a cordon lined with U.N. security guards. Nevertheless, some correspondents manage to put questions with the aid of a long pole topped with a mike. "Monsieur minister, Mr Wakil, what's your opinion of the Pakistani stand? Mr Cordovez, when will the agreements be ready?"

The questions usually remain unanswered. Sometimes one of the chief negotiators drops a phrase or two, and the lucky reporter is immediately surrounded by colleagues anxious to find out what he was told.

If no one is lucky, the correspondents begin to make guesses about the progress of the talks. Is Cordovez in a good mood today? Will the head of the Pakistani delegation be able to remove the plaster cast from his broken right arm on time to sign the agreements?

The impatience of the media can be understood. The world community is awaiting good news from Geneva. Diego Cordovez says that the current round of the talks may be conclusive. At a press conference before the talks opened, he urged both sides to do their best to reach agreement.

Afghan Foreign Minister Abdul Wakil announced on the second day of the talks that Kabul had decided to meet the wish of the Pakistani delegation on the question of troop withdrawal. It was agreed after preliminary consultations with Moscow that Soviet troops could be evacuated within nine months, with half of them leaving in the first three months.

Head of the Pakistani delegation, Zain Nourani, has not so far gone beyond some non-committal statements.

Taking advantage of the interval, I asked an acquaintance on the U.N. staff to show me the rooms where the talks are being held through the mediator.

A spacious room on the first floor with large windows and a table in the middle has been assigned to meetings with the Pakistani delegations. There are three chairs on one side of the table (apparently for Cordovez with his aides) and five chairs on the other (for Nourani and his advisers). Another room, also spacious and with the chairs arranged in the same way, has been assigned for meetings with the Afghan delegation. The personal envoy of the U.N. Secretary-General plies between the two rooms, acquainting one delegation with the proposals of the other.

THE AMERICANS I DISCOVERED

Notes of a participant in the conference of representatives of Soviet and American public opinion in Washington.

Setting out for a country you have never visited before, you are apt to feel yourself something of a Columbus. What awaits you on that other shore? What is the biggest discovery awaiting you there? To what extent will your knowledge, the picture you have of that country, coincide with the reality?

Looking ahead

Ours was the biggest delegation from the Soviet Peace Committee ever to have visited the United States. Consisting of scientists, writers, doctors, art workers, religious leaders and journalists - about one hundred in all - it was invited by the Centre for Soviet-American Dialogue to take part in a conference "Social Inventions for the Third Millennium", which was to work out joint projects that could help carry forward what the leaders of the two great powers had agreed upon last December in Washington.

Our American hosts, evidently inspired by the results of the meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan, described the conference as a "Soviet-American Citizens' Summit." What it was called is not important of course, although it is flattering to feel oneself party to such an outstanding event, and even more so, perhaps, obtaion a glimpse of the next century over the heads of the politicians.

When did the idea of convening such a conference first occur? I put this question to Barbara Marx Hubbard, the Centre's Programme Director. It was no simple matter to contact Barbara although she was always around. This slender, grey-haired woman is a veritable dynamo of energy with an amazing ability to attend to a great many things at once. And when we finally sat down for a talk I realized that it would not be a long one. And I was right.

"When?" she echoed my question. "In the early 1970s, I think. At that time we convened the first conferences in the U.S. on the question of contacts with the U.S.S.R. in various fields, bringing together radicals, liberals and conservatives. We were even then aware of the vast opportunities that existed for cooperation with your country. But that was only the beginning of a long road beset by countless obstacles. In 1984, when I sought the Democratic vice-presidential nomination, I proposed setting up a "peace room" in the White House. It has a "crisis room" where existing and imminent dangers are analyzed. So why not have a room where a search would be made for points of contact through accord and joint initiative? The Democrats liked my idea, but unfortunately we lost the election. But we did not despair and went on working.

"And now the present conference is essentially a prototype of that room: we are working together on projects for the future. No, we are not here for speech-making or debate, we won't advise President Reagan or Mr Gorbachev what to do. We must act ourselves. Each of us speaks of what he wants to do and what he can do so that our countries might live in concord and the world be more peaceful. The most important thing is personal concern."

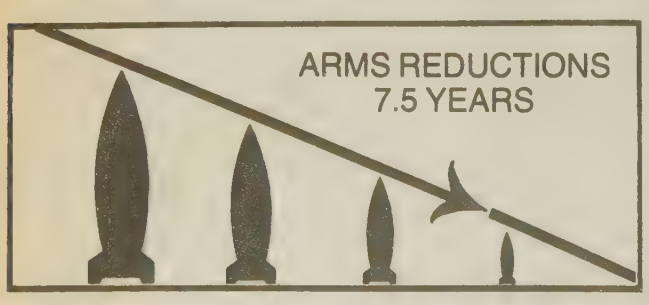
Personal concern. I recalled these words more than once during those days in Washington. The 450 people who came to the conference from all parts of the United States had not only spent no little money for the trip but had defrayed the expenses of our stay in America. Would an American invest money in projects which might seem unrealistic to some? Or is it the fashion there nowadays to participate in the anti-war movement? I asked myself these questions when I spoke with the American participants in the conference and listened to their views on what has to be done to improve things in the world. And I realized that the simple but crucial idea had been brought home to Americans - that without the joint efforts of our two countries and their peoples peace cannot be secured. It was their profound belief in the need for action that had brought them to the Washington Conference so that they might be personally involved in this signal event.

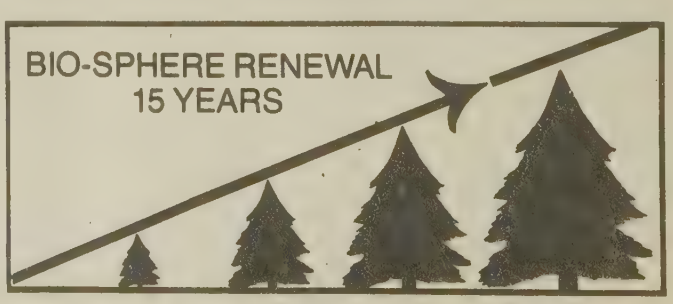
One sceptic did ask: was it in place today, when peace is still so fragile and the nuclear stockpiles are just beginning to be cleared away, to consider projects for the next century? After all politics was not our business, it is the domain of the governments, the diplomats.

But does it not stand to reason that if you believe that the situation is hopeless you must do everything in your power to change it? The more so today, when the situation differs markedly from what it was three or four years ago. And these changes have become possible thanks to people who believe that no situation is hopeless, and that inaction is criminal. Hence the emergence in the U.S. of the "citizen diplomacy" movement for which Gorbachev's observation that today the peoples are in many respects ahead of the politicians has had so great an appeal. Compare this with the reaction to the Soviet leader's statement of January 1986 which was described as sheer utopia.

What was impossible yesterday is becoming the reality today. Therefore what might be called the keynote of the conference were the words that sounded under the rafters of the huge hall in the Hotel Radisson:

Major General Jack Kidd suggests using the funds released by disarmament for solving global ecological problems.





Let us dream impossible dreams.
Let us make them possible.
Let us work together.

And we started working together.

Projects

The conference divided into 18 different working groups dealing with a variety of questions: from religion and human rights to space exploration, from the upbringing of children to the new aspects of global security, from public health to the joint production of films and plays.

I confessed I expected that as soon as the projects were advanced for discussion, verbal jousting and mutual recriminaitons would surely begin. Fortunately, I was mistaken. A spirit of confidence, mutual understanding and sincere good will prevailed from the outset.

Someone remarked that a critical mass of confidence had taken shape at the conference. At one time it even looked as if there was no nuclear confrontation between our two countries, no differences between us and that even the most complex problems could be resolved quite simply.

And indeed, while the diplomats and politicians were wrestling with their conundrums, the Russians and Americans assembled in Washington were able within five days to find ways of resolving many problems.

How?

"I worked out my own "Star Light" project as far back as the spring of 1985, retired U.S. Air Force General Jack Kidd told me. "Your leader put forward his programme for a nuclear-free world in January the following year. The two plans have a great deal in common, I am happy to say. That is exactly how we must act."

The general's six-stage plan is indeed similar to the Soviet programme. But Kidd does not mind that it is not his project but the "Gorbachev plan" that is known worldwide, the important thing for him is that his ideas are consonant with those set forth in our statement. And is it such a bad thing, after all, to have the Soviet leader as a project-partner?

"What brought you to this conference, general?"

"Some seven years ago, when I had already retired, I came to the conclusion that no one can win in a nuclear war, that military superiority in a world with so much nuclear weaponry is nonsense, because that monstrous force would sweep away everyone and everything. Since then I have considered it my duty to persuade people that I am right. Universal nuclear disarmament may seem unlikely today, but we have to strive for it, our countries are in duty bound to begin the long and difficult process of disarmament. That is the only way the world can be saved from disaster. No one knows better than I do what that disaster would mean - after all, I took part for many years in elaborationg scenarios of nuclear war against your country."

I was inwardly shaken by the general's last phrase. He evidently noticed this, for he closed his eyes, spread his hands and shook his head as if to say: yes, that is how it was.

Today we know what nuclear war would bring, and how much damage so many nuclear warheads might cause. The blood-chilling concept of "nuclear winter" has already become part of our lexicon.

The Soviet scientist Lev Semeiko has given serious thought to the possibility of "nuclear winter" even in a nuclear-free world.

"Could you tell me what you see in this picture?"

"The politicians have finally awakened to the deadly danger for humanity of a nuclear conflict," he says. "But the results of a conventional war could be no less catastrophic. Not only because some conventional weapons are no less destructive than small nuclear charges. Today hundreds of atomic electric power stations are operating in Europe. Their destruction in the course of a conventional war would result in the radioactive contamination of vast expanses of territory. Nor can an explosion at a damaged atomic power station be excluded. And the hundreds of chemical plants, too, should not be forgotten. All this calls for profound and serious analysis by experts of many countries without delay. Knowing the capacity of an atomic power station, it is quite possible to compute a mathematical model of the consequences. It is the duty of scientists to warn humanity of the threat presented also by conventional wars. All things considered, such a war, too, even in a nuclear-free world, is unthinkable: in it, too, there can be neither victors nor vanquished."

"This is a new and highly interesting approach to the problem," said Daniel Ellsberg, the well-known U.S. public figure, whom I asked to comment on Semeiko's view. "We speak mainly about the consequences of nuclear war, forgetting the atomic power stations and the chemical plants. But the consequences of conventional warfare could also prove irreparable. Moreover, they would affect Third World countries as well. This proposal should be urgently verified at the highest and most authoritative scientific level. I believe that awareness of the perils of conventional warfare could be a serious restraining factor."

J. Kenneth Smail, Associate Professor of Anthropology at Kenyon College (Ohio) has another idea: he believes that "peace hostages" could be a deterrent. He suggests that a million Americans aged between 15 and 35 should go to the Soviet Union and a million Soviet citizens in the same age bracket to the United States to live for two years with local families. Both sides would undertake to provide the necessary living conditions for them and each side, in making one or another foreign policy move, would willy-nilly have to bear in mind that some of their compatriots are on the other shore. At the same time, the "hostages" would break down the stereotype notions of each other existing in both countries and learn to understand each other.

The professor's project may seem unrealistic or naive to some people. Nevertheless its underlying idea is fundamentally sound: people must associate with one another, otherwise there can be no mutual understanding.

Is not the same idea basic to the "Soldier Meets Soldier" project proposed by one of the Soviet participants in the conference? It is a simple proposition: 50 young men in army uniform from each side could meet and look at one another not through gunsights, even imaginary ones, but face to face.

In Moscow I learned that the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Defence took a favourable view of this project. How will the Pentagon respond? At any rate, Edward Winchester, who heads the meditation club (there actually is such a thing!) at the U.S. war department was very much interested.

Incidentally, I had a rather unusual conversation with Winchester. He came up to me during an intermission between sessions. After a brief exchange on the subject of the "enemy image," he showed me a drawing and said:

"Could you tell me what you see in this picture?"

After a moment's thought I replied: "I see an old woman. She must be cold because she has raised the collar of her fur coat."

"Is that all?"

"I think so," I replied rather uncertainly, suspecting a catch.

"You mean you don't see a lovely young woman with her head turned slightly to one side?"

I looked closer at the drawing and laughed. Ed was right. That could also be made out that on the drawing.

"There you are. You have to learn to change your angle of vision. And try to see not only the bad sides but also the good sides." He looked severely at me, like a teacher admonishing a slow-witted pupil.

"Thanks, Ed," I said. "If only everything were as simple..."

I wish I could dwell on all of the projects put forward at this conference. But that of course is out of the question, considering that there were exactly 150 of them. A joint flight to Mars, for instance. A joint committee of the NATO and Warsaw Treaty chiefs of staff to work out a common system of security. A joint council on problems relating to the treatment of the deadliest diseases. A working group on problems of terrorism.

Some projects will begin to be put into effect tomorrow. Others are already "in the works." The critical mass of confidence indeed set off a chain reaction of splendid and bold ideas.

Six Days

in Michigan

I never imagined I would find myself in the role of Bulgakov's Margarita at Voland's ball. But I have found more than once that life is far more exciting than the wildest fantasy. A sensational happening occurred in the cosy little town of Traverse City, situated on the shores of one of the Great Lakes in the northern part of the state of Michigan: three Russians, the first the town had ever seen, arrived there. The three were Yelena Petushkova, senior researcher at the biological department of the Moscow State University, world and Olympics champion or equestrian sports, Alexei Pankin, a young scientist from the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences Institute of U.S.A. and Canada Studies, and this writer. After the Washington conference, our delegation, splitting up into small groups, left for a tour of different states. Our group went to Michigan.

The local newspaper, Record Eagle, reported this notable event in banner headlines, announcing that a meeting with the Soviet visitors was to take place on Sunday, February 7, from 3.30 to 5 p.m. in the Oleson Centre.

When we arrived there we found no more than ten people in the large hall. We shook hands all around and exchanged a few words appropriate to the occasion, feeling that our arrival had not aroused much interest among the public of this snowbound resort town where life seemed at a standstill pending the summer season. But after about fifteen or twenty minutes people began to trickle in, singly, in couples and even whole families. In no time they were queuing up to shake our hands and talk to us.

An endless succession of faces, handshakes, smiles, and questions, questions, questions. "You're from Moscow? How do you like Traverse City? Not too cold for you?" Many people, introducing themselves, said: "I just want to welcome you to our city! You are the first Soviet people I have ever met."

Like the heroine of Bulgakov's novel, after two hours of this, my shoulders and legs were aching. But the sincere cordiality that surrounded us that afternoon made one forget such minor discomforts.

True, our visit did not please everyone in Traverse City. Waiting for us outside the Oleson Centre, stamping their feet in the cold, was a couple carrying placards with the traditional vicious insinuations on the theme of "human rights" and "Soviet imperialism."

The following day we learned from the newspaper that this was how the activists of the local John Birch Society expressed their attitude to us. These people of course are incorrigible and there was nothing surprising about their behavior. The surprising thing was that this was the only time we encountered anything of the kind, although we did quite some travelling in the surrounding country.

Every day in the course of our tour we addressed mainly college students and teachers. Every meeting began with an account of the Washington conference, but later, when the questions began, the word "perestroika" was one of the first to be heard.

Yes, I knew that there is now much intrest in America in what is happening in our country. However, I could not have imagined that it was as great and as widespread as it turned out to be. Nor could I have imagined how much the changes that have taken place in our domestic life and our foreign policy in the past three years are altering the seemingly deeply rooted attitudes of Americans to the Soviet Union. Of course the old stereotypes are still tenacious, there is still plenty of prejudice, scepticism, mistrust and at times even undisguised dislike. Nevertheless even in the way the Americans listened to what we had to say and in the questioins they asked one could discern a genuine desire to understand what is happening in the country which but yesterday was called the "empire of evil," the country with which today talks on disarmament are under way.

We spent only six days in Michigan. But I still often find myself thinking of Sandy and Gary Woodcocks, Sharon, Collen and Chuck Kalchik, Kathleen and Randolph Wrights, Henry Morgenstein, Barbara Houghton, Bob Mueller, Dean Robb, in a word of our kind, hospitable and thoughtful hosts. It was these people on that other shore that were my main discovery in America. People who know no peace because this world of ours is still far from peaceful.

DMITRY POGORZHELSKY
our special correspondent

Washington-Traverse City-Moscow

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Complex crises, simple solutions

FRENCH HISTORY SHOWS WHAT A LUCID MIND CAN DO AT CRUCIAL MOMENT

JEAN-JACQUES SERVAN-SCHREIBER

In Paris, 40 years ago, I met a modest man who was going to become the foremost European of our era. He was motivated by a breathtakingly simple idea: putting and end, once and for all, to more than a century of Franco-German hostility.

His name was Jean Monnet. I encountered his deep passion one day in the summer of 1948, when he invited me to join him for lunch.

After questioning me methodically about my two recent visits to West Germany as a correspondent for Le Monde, he asked me to look at the wall where a very large map of Europe was displayed. He had circled France and Germany. Then disclosed the true object of the lunch.

"You see, our problem is to avoid this time the pitfalls of all previous occasions. How can we create an ambitious but realistic pattern by which France and Germany would cease, once and for all, to be eternal enemies and would be made partners in a common venture?

"If we solve this century-old fatal flaw, we should be able to advance on a whole new range of world problems... If not - Europe will remain divided, weak, and on the way to its final decadence...."

Monnet was gazing constantly at the map, that circle, these two eternal enemies, a torrent of blood, it seemed, between them: the River Rhine.

What was he looking for, this public-policy manager, this transnational mind, was nothing less than the key to a miracle... I sat in silence, knowing how right he was.

I made some remarks, in a mood of approval and encouragement. And it went on until he started scribbling notes on a pad in front of him. Before I left he mentioned that he would probably draft a short memo on some intuition that had come to him during the discussion.

Monnet did indeed put his draft of a solution to the problem of France and Germany in a memo of three short hand-written pages. This was the outline of what came to be known as the "Monnet Plan."

He stated his bold innovation in the simplest language: "The basic instruments of war between our two great countries have been made from the resources, in coal and iron, of both France and Germany, on the borders of the Rhine River. The recurrent inevitability of war will not be reversed by nice feelings or good speeches. Let us go to the very root of things and propose that France and Germany put all their steel-making capacities in one common pool governed by one common authority. This supra-national agency will be controlled by a common board chosen by both parliaments, with its own executives. No part whatsoever of French or German coal-mining or steel-making capacities should remain outside the control of this new, and common, High Authority."

The sequence of events that followed is well known. "The Coal-Steel Pool" was created and implemented. One by one, the other concerned nations - Italy, Belgium, Holland and Luxemburg - joined this first, basic, pact. It became "the six-nation Community."

And then, year after year, they decided together, following the pool's logic, to enlarge the concept and the authority, giving birth to the European Common Market, then the European Economic Community. The movement reversing centuries of history, has become irreversible.

This episode shows the extent of the consequences due to the clarity of one mind, at the right moment. Can it be an

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Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber is a well-known French publicist and a former cabinet member of the French government. The article, originally written for Washington Post, was supplemented by the author for publication in New Times.

Are "simple solutions" all that simple?

THE MONNET PLAN - A TRIBUTE TO THE PAST, NOT THE FUTURE

VALENTIN FALIN

For every student of European postwar history and French policy or views on world affairs, the writings of Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber are not only models of journalistic methodology but also food for thought and, not infrequently, original sources of information.

This time too, Servan-Schreiber discloses new facts about Jean Monnet and John Kennedy. There are no grounds to question the veracity of his report of what they told him. And if the whole truth were reduced to this information, the majority of the comment would be unnecessary.

Thus, a three-page scheme for pooling the steel output potentials of six countries definitively resolves the problem of recurrent wars in Western Europe. Nothing could be simpler.

Why hadn't it occurred to other people before? Perhaps there was no one as modest and persistent as Monnet. All this looks like the kind of legend we sometimes read about, though legends add little to real knowledge and practical experience.

It can be said, without going into details, that there have been many plans for integration, covering vast areas of Europe. The example of Rome and Byzantium evidently excited the imaginations of Charles the Great and Charles XII of Sweden, Napoleon and the founders of the Holy Alliance. A host of projects for pan-Europeanism, federations and confederations were advanced between the two world wars.

Why did these projects evaporate? Why, and in what original context, was the idea of integration revived, now in the form of a six-nation pool? Was this pool a self-contained entity or part of a wider scheme? The answers to these questions are to be found in documents most of which are still classified. However, even what is today known for certain is more than enough to clear up a number of facts that the West has carefully hushed up over the past 25 years.

The innocent and laudable intention of putting an end to wars, which the Monnet and other similar plans are now presented as having had a somewhat different angle in 1947-48. First of all, the integration of six nations envisaged the division of Germany. A united and, moreover, neutral Germany did not seem an appropriate partner for the "Europeans" by virtue of its potential, as well as other reasons.

Here are two statements made by Georges Bidault at meetings of the foreign ministers of four powers. Germany as a whole, he said on May 15, 1946, "has been destroyed, and it was a just act, it (a whole) had to be destroyed." Later, on March 22, 1947, he said: "The French delegation believes - with regard to the Soviet proposals for retaining Germany as a single peace-loving state - that the prime task of the occupying powers is now to consolidate what has been done at the first stage. It is necessary, and we are trying to do this, to set up definitively different states on a democratic basis."

No wonder that the Monnet Plan was made known in 1948. Paris intimated that it would join the cold war and the U.S.-sponsored plan for the division of Europe and Germany and the establishment of an anti-Soviet military bloc, later called the North Atlantic Alliance, provided that Washington recognized France's leading role in the Six, an indissoluble group that would keep "German dynamism" under control. A well-known advocate of European integration, Walter Hallstein, has admitted that the motives for and the trend towards integration, as well as the means and methods of implementing it, were purely political.

Walter Hallstein points out in his book "The European Community" that integration concerns "not the economy, not production, not trade or consumption," and that it is "not cartels, not European trade unions or consumer cooperatives" that are being set up. The integration of the Six was "a political necessity in social solidarity." From the very outset, Hallstein writes, the advocates of integration planned to create more than a "coal and steel community." Their original goal was military and political integration, the merging of the related functions of the states concerned.

What has actually been achieved is a different matter. Servan-Schreiber talks about the design and its moral projection beyond which the other aspect - the cost of integration and at whose expense it had been achieved - remained invisible. By bringing the world to its present condition, the United States and its allies have effectively reneged on all the commitments they made during the war against German nazism and Japanese militarism.

The Monnet Plan was, in my opinion, primarily a tribute to the past, not the future. It denied the main lesson of two world wars, namely, that the days of power politics had gone, never to return. Monnet saw the greatest danger in nationalism, and he was prepared to finish

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Complex crises, simple solutions

inspiration for larger challenges of today? We shall see in a moment.

If difficult decisions were required for the complex construction of Europe, they were dwarfed by the one public-policy problem of historical dimension: how, for all of us, to accept and manage the end of the colonial era, the end of our control of so many, and such large Western-dominated countries in Asia and the Pacific, Africa and the Indian Ocean, Latin America and the South Atlantic? And one single name became the symbol of it all, then and now: Vietnam.

The man who understood that problem earliest - with the same audacious simplicity that Monnet applied to Europe - was Pierre Mendes-France, the French Prime Minister in the mid-1950s. I was then his junior aide.

His finest hour came after the disaster of the French defeat at Dien Bien Phu. Mendes-France had to extricate, with honour and a reasonable ceasefire, a large part of the French army.

Before going to the peace conference in Geneva in the summer of 1954, Mendes-France had to find a way to change radically the terms of the encounter, which would be disastrous for us: one fifth of the French military force in Vietnam had been crushed in the battle at Dien Bien Phu. We had to face defeat, pure and simple, and still try to negotiate a decent peace settlement.

Today, the same delicate question is still with us all: how to avoid, or abandon, positions of precarious military domination without creating a chain of disorders both in the far away countries involved and in the psyches of our own people.

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One evening, before the peace meeting, the staff was working on various diplomatic options. Taking me into another room, Mendes-France, refusing to be pressured either by the heavy machine of state or by the infinite international rules of protocol, told me in simple terms his essential intuition.

"We must find a completely different way. If, in the comfort of habits, we start negotiating, in classical terms, all the issues of such a complicated peace, one by one, two disasters will become inevitable. First, it will be endless. They can drag on for months and even more. Second, during this terrible cascade of protracted negotiations we shall get into deeper and deeper military involvement. In the end there will be nothing to negotiate, only to abandon. So, enemy No. 1, right now, is time.Time is against us. Think abou

I came back to him with a simple suggestion: refuse to be dragged into endless negotiations by giving the opponent, although victorious, an ultimatum. The peace agreement on the essentials must be signed in one month. Mendes-France should announce in advance that he would resign as prime minister and send to Vietnam massive reinforcements and maximum air power to be at the disposal of the next prime minister.

And that was it. Parliament could do nothing but approve, and it did so without dissent. At the end of one month, on the very eve of the deadline, peace was made. And never again, from that day, after nearly a century of colonial rule, would any French force return to Vietnam.

If only the U.S. officials had been able to act as decisively when their turn, unfortunately, came in Vietnam. But to them, simple answers to Vietnam never seemd possible. I discovered this very soon, during a 1962 visit to Washington at the invitation of John Kennedy.

My host was extremely cordial, and displayed his famous open-mindedness by mentioning a range of subjects he suggested we could discuss, today and tomorrow - and then asked me kindly in what order did I prefer. I took a deep breath and gambled on the intelligence of the man. I told him that I thought my duty would be to propose to talk about one topic, and one only. Then the deep breath: Vietnam.

He showed total surprise and disbelief. He mentioned the continuous tension with the Soviets since the Cuban crisis and the expansionist potential of communist China. He continued with the sensitive question of the balance of forces in Europe, and specifically the necessary, if ominous, rearming of Germany.

That was the end of 1962. And, on the surface, Vietnam, indeed, was nowhere a flashing red light in the war rooms of the world. But having gone through this agony ourselves, we in Paris knew that a really explosive danger lay in the shadowy, covert escalation of the U.S. military expedition into the well-known, to us, swamps of Vietnam. We imagined with horror the profound consequences of this new "march of folly," following our own path, leading also to final humiliation and defeat - only in a much larger dimension, both in the world and at home.

I reported that to John Kennedy, as the simple message of my visit.

He listened, at first in a total disbelief, then with decent interest. He called Defence Secretary Robert McNamara and made an appointment for me next day. The session with McNamara, to my surprise, was quite disappointing. Alarmingly so. After listening with care, he summarized his disagreement: "You see, it is not conceivable that an American force in Vietnam would meet, as you imagine, the sad fate of the French army. It is not a question of bravery but of technology. We have something your generals did not have and left them so vulnerable: thousands of helicopters. We can saturate the skies in Vietnam, if we happen to be so overwhelmed."

I returned to Kennedy with increased fears. He showed clearly that he was less than reassured. He then asked his brother Robert to monitor this problem and to keep in touch with me in Paris. But then came Dallas. Lyndon Johnson felt the joy of being a commander-in-chief in the

pursuit of military "victory." The rest is history.

A vision, today as yesterday, is nothing but a nice dream unless it is supported by a coherent prospect for implementing it.

Such was the radically innovative and very simple plan by Jean Monnet that built Europe. Such was the Marshall Plan. Such was Mendes-France's making of peace in Vietnam in 30 days. Such was the JFK's simplest and most effective of all plans, in all ways: to light the flame of youth, giving it a real appetite, a joyful impetus, to create and master the future.

Taking our world as it is now, more diverse and complicated than at any of these previous periods, we must decide that the plan for the future will be most likely to be understood and made to work if it is of utmost simplicity.

So, I shall conclude with two simple suggestions.

The hostile relationship between the two Americas - the intellectual and the military - must cease at all cost.

There is no basis for conflict. American defence will rest on America's brain-power. No more, no less. We have to assume that the Russians too have come to the same conclusion: true security is higher knowledge, very far from the blind and ruinous accumulation of sterile hardware.

This, of course, fits the vital need of the Soviet people to rebuild their obsolete economy by transferring a very large portion of resources and brains, monopolized by the military, to the creative part of society, along with the massive and continuous buildup of the learning system at all ages. "New knowledge is now the only source of true economic power," says Richard Cyert, president of Carnegie-Mellon University. And of true security.

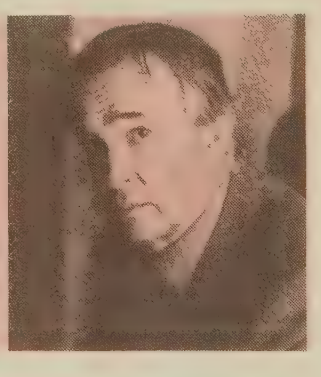
From this common need could come the birth of an era, because it points to a most natural partnership. Sharing open research labs with the Soviets could do more than anything - and surely much faster than complex arms negotiations - to change the Soviet-American hostility into a joint competition of trained brains in the common knowledge revolution that is transforming the world economy. The real offer is to share research, not technology. Technology without ongoing research is still knowledge, a "black box". So there is no bad surprise to fear.

Having scientists, from the nations involved, working in the same labs, on an international network of new knowledge, is bound to create a very different climate, free from confrontations and military obsessions. It will also help to build creative economies, new wealth, new jobs, better standard of living.

That is at issue. It goes much beyond the arsenals, touching the very roots of personal life in all countries. We have entered, through technological progress, a new era - "the knowledge era." But we are not yet exploiting it for better life. We are exploiting it mostly for more sophisticated weapons. It is the old "march of folly" all over again. Let us get away from past history and towards the future of our children. They know what they want: a better life, not another war.

Such are simple ideas for 1988. Impractical, unrealistic? That was what people said to Monnet and Mendes-France.

Are "simple solutions" all that simple?



with it by any means, even through the merger of separately taken components, highly militarized and directed against other nations, into supranationalism.

In short, Monnet, Schuman, Pleven and other authors of plans for integration were by no means naive, and their recipe for "appeasement" was in no sense a panacea. The replacement of one enmity with another is hardly a productive occupation worthy of being widely popularized.

Now about Mendes-France, Kennedy and Vietnam. The decision of Paris to end hostilities in Indo-China was taken in extremely contradictory circumstances. It will be recalled that Washington tried hard to prevent such a turn of events. John Foster Dulles urged Paris "not to yield" and proposed using American atomic weapons against Vietnam.

Mendes-France was thus faced with a challenge that went far beyond French colonial interests. If Paris fell for the American nuclear bait, developments could take an unpredictable turn. To do him justice, Mendes-France proved a reasonable man. It may well be that it was precisely Washington's attempt to give the war a new dimension that finally impelled him to seek a political settlement.

Washington was not concerned about the future of the French colonial empire. It is no secret that, while the war was still going on, the U.S. leaders worked out plans for a cardinal redistribution of "dependent territories" in the Asian and Pacific region. No room was left in these designs for France, Holland and other European metropolitan countries. At the same time, the position of the U.S. and its military, economic and political influence were to be enhanced, whether directly or indirectly.

Even after it had been compelled to accept the Geneva agreements as a reality, Washington didn't give up its intention of succeeding the European colonialists. It can be said that the desire to seize Indo-China, justly considered the gem of the French colonial empire, urged Washington to start its Vietnam venture, while the U.S. confidence in its own superiority in technology and other fields prevailed over caution. No wonder Servan-Schreiber's talks with John Kennedy and Robert NcNamara disappointed him. The parties were thinking in different time dimensions.

The final provisions of Servan-Schreiber's article are consonant with Soviet ideas about the need for revolutionary changes in the mentality of ordinary people. The truth is that the old method of trial and error, "marches of folly" of various kinds, is completely unacceptable today. A single error could annihilate civilization and the earth. To prolong its existence, mankind must work out new rules of international behaviour, binding on all states, new methods of settling conflicts and coordinating the interests of states in the explosive regions of the world. The earlier we enter the "knowledge era," the sooner the "prejudice era" will end, and the better it will be for all of us without exception. ■

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Operation Otto

Austria was annexed by Hitler's Germany 50 years ago on March 12, 1938. That event, known as the Anschluss, was the prologue to the second world war.

What led to the disappearance of Austria from the political map of Europe?

The existence of the young republic that had emerged on the ruins of the Austro-Hungarian Empire had been assured. Moreover, in 1934 Britain, Italy and France had confirmed the guarantees of Austria's independence. But...

The history of the annexation of Austria is instructive.

It offers a striking example of how the best guarantees can turn into mere scraps of paper if the "guarantors" only think of self-seeking, one-sided interests, and not of the interests of Europe and peace.

The Versailles Treaty had been inherently contradictory. The United States had refused to join the League of Nations, while Britain and France pursued ends that did not coincide and even at times conflicted. France sought hegemony over the continent, while Britain wanted a balance of forces in which it could play the role of arbiter. What they had in common was the anti-Soviet trend of their policy.

The Soviet Union then warned against the threat of national socialism to peace in Europe. The Soviet Union intensified its activity, particularly after it entered the League of Nations in 1934. "Peace is indivisible," said the head of the Soviet foreign policy department, Maxim Litvinov. It was, perhaps, the first time in history that this idea had been formulated as a political programme. It meant that only by the collective efforts of all countries, large and small, could security, especially European security, be ensured. But that idea did not meet with support in the West.

As early as the spring of 1933, Hitler had tried to sound out opinion in Italy as to the possibility of an Anschluss as part of his overall plan of aggression. "Some day fuehrer will destroy Austria," Goebbels wrote in his diary. "It is not a state." France and Britain were indifferent to the plan for an Anschluss. But at the time Mussolini still feared the strengthening of Germany and had plans to found the Danube Federation under his own supremacy, and he viewed Austria as being in his sphere of influence. The nazis had to retreat.

The state of affairs in Europe had changed drastically by 1938. Mussolini had become Hitler's junior partner. The Western powers were resigned to the fact that Germany had violated the military clauses of the Versailles Treaty, and watched with indifference as German troops invaded the demilitarized Rhine zone on March 7, 1936, and the war industry started to go at full throttle.

But the worst was still to happen. Hitler did not yet have absolute power, particularly military power, and the generals were far from convinced that they would get away with the Anschluss. Was this known in the West? Archives discovered after the war show that it was, but that the knowledge was not acted upon. The Italian Foreign Minister, Count Galeazzo Ciano, held that annexation of Austria was imminent, and that it could only be postponed at best. Britain's Permanent Undersecretary of State for Foreign Affairs Lord Alexander Cadogan put it differently. He said he almost wished for Germany to annex Austria so that it would be over and done with.

A collective protest from the great powers, let alone a show of strength, would have been enough to make nazi Germany abandon the idea of seizing Austria. But when units of the Wehrmacht implemented operation Otto and entered Austria on the night of March 11, neither Britain, France, nor Italy reacted in any way.

Litvinov's press statement was published on March 17, 1938. It declared the Soviet Union's readiness to participate in every move aimed at rallying to rebuff the aggressor, and noted that if nations remained passive and the aggression went unpunished, this was likely to provoke a new aggression. The People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs emphasized that the previous Soviet warnings had been borne out by the military invasion of Austria and the deprivation of the Austrian people of political, economic and cultural independence.

Internal factors had, certainly, played a fatal role in the fall of the Republic. The Austrian government had been spearheading its actions not against the nazis but against the democratic movement and workers' organizations. It is sufficient to recall the suppression of Vienna workers' protests against fascism in July 1927, the dispersal of workers' demonstrations in 1929 and in 1934. Meanwhile foreign policy veered towards Pan-Germanism, and nazi organizations backed by Germany intensified their activities.

For Hitler's Germany, the Anschluss was not just the first step of the aggression. It also enabled the nazis to see that the Western democracies were not going to oppose their plans. The events of March 1938 preceded the Munich collusion of September. The Soviet warnings had not been heeded. They had been ignored, to be more precise. And the consequences are well known.

GEORGI ARDAYEV

Wehrmacht units marching into Vienna.

A case for the private home

YURI SHEVCHENKO

A country house in town?

To judge from the many commentaries in the Soviet media, economists, sociologists and financial experts alike are worried by the accumulation of vast deposits in savings banks, inasmuch as this money lying idle does not generate more spending and has an adverse impact upon the country's economic health.

The scarcity of commodities is not entirely to blame. Nor is the inferior quality of industrially produced goods an offer to the public. At times the causes go far deeper.

One was mentioned by Soviet Vice-Premier Yuri Batalin at a recent press briefing. It is the problem of a house of one's own.

For years, if not decades, the private house owner was seen as an undesirable social phenomenon. The crude interpretation placed upon what people wanted to own made all personal property questionable, even if earned by means of honest work for the common weal. This, of course, was poles apart from the gist and substance of socialism whose slogan is: everything for the good of man.

The suspicious attitude to building private accommodation did more than keep a lot of money lying idle. It also slowed us down in implementing such a cardinal social task as that of providing the population with proper housing. This, mind you, despite the scale of housing construction, which, to believe the annual statistical reports, has now assumed immense proportions. Indeed, today the amount of housing per capita averages 15.2 square metres. Is this a lot or a little? In the United States, where, I should note, there are no small number of homeless families, the per capita average exceeds 40 square metres.

The current perestroika calls for a new attitude to the private house builder. A house of one's own, moreover, with all modern conveniences and of an individual design that takes into account the tastes and inclinations of the future owner, is a commodity that many yearn for and for which people would be only too delighted to dig into their pockets. The advantage would be tremendous. The money lying idle in savings banks would be used to good purpose and at the same time the housing problem would be further on its way to being solved.

One would have thought it was definitely high time we got building of this kind under way.

However, inhibitive influences are felt in this field as well. Bureaucrats are afraid that if this new effort were to get under way, it might cut back on state budget allocations for ordinary housing funds which hitherto they handled at their own discretion. They fear that their role, influence and status, and, in the long run, their own well-being might decline.

As a result, bureaucrats trot out a range of bans and prohibitions, and so while not dismissing the idea outright, reduce it to a mere skeleton. For instance, they say the overall area of a private house should not exceed 50 square metres. What on earth for? Suppose the prospective owner wants to have a house of 75 or even 100 square metres, and can afford one? Would that mean a loss to the national treasury? Or is it a sin to want spacious and comfortable accommodation?

As for decreasing the state investment in housing, that will not happen. However, the opponents of private housing advance another argument, to wit, that wholesale private construction will supposedly clash with town planning policies and have a depressing impact on urban architecture.

Whence the conviction that people will build nothing but shacks and shanties? Rather the contrary. Indeed, state-nurtured housing construction over the past few decades has by no means meant architectural progress: at any rate few today would like to live in five-storey walk-ups that went up in the 1960s.

It is my conviction that personal initiative complemented by the alterations introduced by local authorities would at last give our cities, towns and villages an architectural flavour of their own. Only recently I visited a privately owned housing estate in the world's largest metropolis, Mexico City. Though it has skyscrapers of mirror glass, highly effective five-level traffic intersections and a noiseless urban railway system running down spacious boulevards, what impressed me most was the polychrome comfort of the blocks of private houses that impress their own image on the urban architecture and make for neatness and cleanliness. Why can't we have that?

The situation so far is rather gloomy. In most of the country's cities and towns, private house building is still in its infancy. I can add to the 50-square-metre ban one other restriction, which limits private houses to only one storey. Another problem is that of making a gift of a house to one's children, a problem that cannot be resolved without a very competent lawyer.

So what is the net result?

Experts have estimated that nowadays so many people would like to build houses of their own that it would require some 350 million square metres of floor space to satisfy the demand. Meanwhile the volume of proposed private house building is far less.

Still, some encouraging experience has already accumulated. In Novomoskovsk near Tula, in Central Russia, the town fathers have decided to allot plots within city limits for private houses. They have also decided that these houses with gardens costing between 20,000 and 25,000 rubles are to be built on favourable terms. This means that the organization employing the prospective house builder will shoulder half the cost and that the house builder himself will pay back the other half over a 25-year period. They have also arranged for the necessary crediting.

A private garden can also serve as kitchen garden, which would facilitate the implementation of the national Food Programme. Then, in a private garden children could run barefoot through the grass in summer - urban boys and girls have long forgotten what that means.

Finally, a house of one's own means a close-knit family with possibly a greater number of children. At any rate, that has always been the case in the past.

Towards a healthier economy

Restructuring the economic management system: factors of success?

The Law on State Enterprise entered into force at the start of this year. Under it, 60 per cent of the national industrial output will be accounted for by self-financing and self-supporting enterprises. The new law requires that the managerial system be remodelled and brought into conformity with the requirements of the day. I asked Boris MILNER, D. Sc. (Economics) and a member of the International Academy of Management what changes are expected.

B.M. We are setting up an intergrated economic management system to cover all managerial levels, organizational mechanisms, and all elements of the economy. As applied to organizational structures of management, this will improve and remodel the basic elements of the economy, that is, enterprises and production associations. Cardinal changes are under way in the organization of sectoral management in the central managerial bodies and those responsible for regional economies.

The most improtant objective of restructuring the organizational mechanisms of management is to combine science and production at fully-fledged industrial associations. A crucial condition here is to provide the right kind of opportunities for complete self-financing and cost-acounting, and establish reliable links between the association and its suppliers and customers. A multitude of organizational forms should be applied today in the new conditions of economic management. There will be commercial and industrial enterprises that plan and build their own production capacity or offer engineering and technological services. New forms are suggested every day, and they range from consortiums and temporary associations to inter-industry factories and purpose-oriented groups set up to reach certain clearly defined targets. All this will combine to provide the basic element of the economy with more room for manoeuvre under a new set of conditions.

N.T. Does this mean that the most important thing now is to complete the process of setting up associations?

B. M. That is correct, but we must not forget that we still have a great many medium and small enterprises which can and must operate independently, or if necessary, be integrated. The idea is to provide a variety of realiable forms of cooperation and make sure that the same technological standards are maintained. That is something that must be carried out now at this transitional stage of the restructuring of management, because tomorrow it could have a braking effect.

N.T. What else do you include in this braking mechanism?

B.M. The vertical structures of management making up the managerial superstructure at the industrial ministries have changed very little so far. In a command system of management these structures handed down orders from the top. Now that the Law on State Enterprise has given the basic element of the economy the broad independence, that is, at the heart of the new managerial system we no longer need that superstructure. The industrial ministries must abandon the practice of petty tutelage of industries. They must perform an entirely new set of functions. The process of cutting managerial staffs is irreversible and it is high on the agenda today that the entire managerial structure be cut to a minimum and simplified dramatically.

N.T. The new result of this will be to have a two-tier system of ministries and enterprises. Is that right?

B.M. That is the two-tier system in a nutshell, and the procedure whereby it will be implemented has already been approved and adopted. For a number of reasons, it is taking more time than was originally thought to introduce it. One reason is that the process of setting up self-contained production associations of various kinds has not yet been completed, and they are fundamental to a two-tier system. The ministries themselves are in no hurry to adopt new managerial methods. They are clinging to their old place in the hierarchy.

N.T. How will the transition of the managerial system to a two-tier mode of operation proceed in practical terms?

B.M. For a start, the chief production boards and national industrial associations will be dismantled. Following that the ministries will switch from overall control to functional guidance of manufacturing and other production associations. Of crucial importance here are subdivisions concerned with planning, financing, research and development, and the construction of new production capacities. But today the ministries still persist in excercising tight control over manufacturing units.

We are also planning to set up major state production associations on a voluntary basis to increase the extent of self-financing and the system of total cost-accounting and self-support as applied to meeting the crucial production, research and development targets.

Significantly, the management of state production associations will be placed on a democratic basis. All decisions will be made by a board of directors, rather than by the director general alone. The managerial structure will thereby operate from below up.

N.T. Don't you think that personnel reductions will lead to a labour exchange?

B.M. This is a good question, indeed, and a very delicate one. It would be unwise to ignore this problem.

At the moment, the managerial machinery employes 18 million people. Over the past fifteen years alone the number of those employed in management has grown by fifty per cent, and this has led to the incongruous situation where, for instance, an administrator or manager in industry had on average only one subordinate. Professionals directly responsible for research and development

account for a mere fifth of those employed by the administrative system and economists, for one sixteenth. The bulk of those employed in the administrative system is accounted for by book-keepers and office employees whose job it is to keep records of what is done.

If we get rid of excess labour immediately, the effect on the growth of productivity during this five-year development period will be a positive one. One of the crucial tasks now facing the nation is dramatically to increase productivity, and in order to assure full employment it is becoming increasingly important to regulate the demand for jobs on a planned basis so that employment will correspond to the economic and social interests of the country.

As far as employment in general is concerned, there are opportunities for creating more jobs in the cooperative and individual sectors. At the moment nine out of ten workers are emloyed by major industrial enterprises and offices, and only one in ten is employed in the cooperative sector, primarily in collective farms.

One must not forget that releasing labour is only a first step to be followed by redeployment, and that is the basic difference between the Soviet Union and western countries.

N.T. Are the old managerial methods a thing of the past and are there any guarantees that they won't be taken up again?

B.M. First of all, most professional engineers, technicians, economists and managers have got down to the immediate tasks of restructuring in the country. The new system of economic management must generate the new type of worker, as the new type of worker generates new conditions. These processes are interrelated. Secondly, the Law on State Enterprise, the democratization of management, and the important part now played by worker collectives in making key decisions are firm guarantees that the process won't be reversed. A new system of economic management is being introduced relying on self-support whereby state funding will be replaced by wholesale trade, consumers will no longer be attached to producers, who will be getting orders from the state on a competitive basis and be free to choose partners, and contract prices will be introduced instead of a large number of prices fixed at the top. The profits made by a work collective will be distributed in keeping with the appropriate norms and spent according to the wishes of the work collective council, a new democratic body of management. In the past they were unconditionally incorporated into the state budget and the work collective was left with only a small percentage.

Interviewed by
MIKHAIL BEKETOV

What the barometer indicates

Muscovites polled on world issues before and after the Washington summit

In January 1988 the International Peace Barometer group at the Soviet Academy of Sciences' Institute of Sociological Studies held an opinion poll in Moscow to find out how interested the public is in **world problems.** Eighty-seven per cent of respondents said they were "very interested" or simply "interested," and only 1 per cent replied that they were "not interested at all."

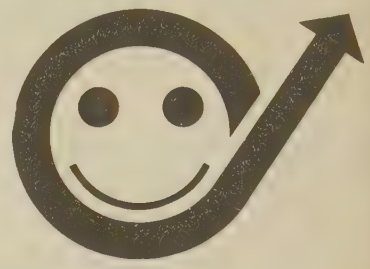
Last November, 3 per cent of respondents were "not interested at all." The Washington summit has apparently stimulated public interest in foreign policy issues. Sixty-two per cent of the Muscovites approached in the January poll admitted that their interest in world problems had increased in the recent period.

Has **the level of world tension** changed in the past few years? This question was put to Muscovites at the end of last November and again at the beginning of January, that is, before and after the Washington summit. Forty-three per cent of those polled before the summit replied that "tension had increased," while after the summit only 21 per cent agreed with this view. Before the summit only 12 per cent of respondents thought that "tensions had eased," whereas after the summit 35 per cent expressed that opinion.

A similar picture was observed in replies to the question on how relations between socialist and capitalist countries had changed over the past few years. The proportion of those who believe these relations "have somewhat improved" rosed to 63 per cent in January from 53 per cent last November.

Special attention in the January poll was given to Europe. Nearly half the respondents believed that **the elimination of medium- and shorter-range missiles** would "considerably" increase security on the continent, and only 7 per cent said they expected no effect from the measure. Eight out of ten Muscovites expressed the opinion that "any European problem can be solved by peaceful means." Eighty-one per cent of those polled believed that a nuclear conflict would destroy European civilization, and 79 per cent were certain that any major war on the continent would reduce it to ruins.

The January poll revealed deep concern over the high level of military, and especially nuclear, confrontation in Europe. One in five respondents said a nuclear conflict on the continent was "very likely,"



INTERNATIONAL PEACE BAROMETER

and one in four regarded the danger as moderate. Thirty-one per cent of those polled admitted that they often thought with alarm about the possibility of nuclear war.

Seventy-five per cent said "the continued buildup and modernization of nuclear weapons will give advantages neither to NATO nor the Warsaw Treaty Organization," while five per cent disagreed with this view. Eighty-four per cent were of the opinion that "the stockpiling and improvement of nuclear weapons increase the risk of their being used accidentally," with 3 per cent disagreeing with this view.

Six out of ten Muscovites favoured parity between **the armed forces of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty,** while 5 per cent said "we should not be afraid of a stronger NATO."

One of the questions in the poll concerned **the possibility of the complete elimination of nuclear weapons in Europe.** A third of respondents found it difficult to answer the question. Another third considered it possible in the distant future, and one in four thought nuclear weapons in Europe could be abolished by the end of the century. Little optimism was expressed about the prospect of the complete elimination of nuclear weapons **worldwide.** Thirty-eight per cent thought this goal might be achieved "in the remote future"; 13 per cent expressed the hope that it could happen by the end of the century, and one in ten replied: "never."

As to the question of **whether victory is possible in a total nuclear war,** 85 per cent of those polled replied in the negative, 3 per cent in the affirmative, and the rest gave no answers.

VSEVOLOD MARINOV
Secretary,
International Peace Barometer

SUCCESSES, QUESTS, HOPES

The eighties have become a time of serious trials for Yugoslavia. How are the Yugoslavs dealing with their problems? Our correspondents V. Grishny and R. Zolotarev sought to find out when they interviewed KIRO GLIGOROV, an eminent Yugoslav political and public figure, an economist and one of the authors of the long-term programme for economic stabilization.

At present in the Soviet Union there is great interest in Yugoslavia and in its experience in building socialism. What's more, some problems have many features in common with ours. How do you assess the significance of perestroika in the U.S.S.R. and the radical reform in Yugoslavia?

I would like to say that, for our part, in Yugoslavia the public, economists and political figures are following your perestroika with keen interest. There is also great interest in your experts' discussions of economic laws, the significance of plans and the market, their relationship and interconnection, the use of plan and market mechanisms to speed up economic development, and the utilization of the advantages of modern technology. When we talk about plans and the market, the relationship between the economy and the state, and the role of the producer, we recall the experience of NEP and the ideas that evolved from the discussions at that time.

The perestroika in the Soviet Union has brought changes in the other socialist countries. It has provided a basis for implementing the new ideas that are so important at the present stage of socialism.

Without profound changes in the economic system, further progress would be impossible. Watching the perestroika in the U.S.S.R., we also look back on our own experience. And we are not surprized that your perestroika is encountering such resistance.

You mean on the part of the bureaucracy?

That too, but also on the part of those who fear changes in the economy and "restoration of capitalism." That is the result of the relations that developed during the period of command-administrative methods of economic management. Equally, it is the result of the economic structure that emerged, the different levels of development of its sub-systems, and the prevaling customs and methods in the organization of labour, production and planning.

These difficulties cannot be overcome easily, nor can changes be achieved quickly. Immense efforts on the part of the leading public forces and mass initiative from below are required to overcome them.

The building of socialism covers a whole era. And while it continues, the strictest economy of human labour and public funds remains an important guiding principle. Prices cannot be determined by calculations made in the privacy of one's office. Productivity and production efficiency are tested by the market. The socialist system is not threatened if it uses the market. On the contrary, knowledge of how the market operates equips our system, gives it a lever that ensures economic and social progress. The only people who do not believe this are those who see socialism as standing outside the sphere of commodity production, as subject to different laws (most often laws that seek to justify so-called "equality". Alright, they argue, we'll be badly off, we'll be poor, but everyone will be in the same boat). The old and the new in life stand side by side, and are intertwined. And the mutual dependence of national economies is mounting, as is their need for an interrelationship, and thus autarchy becomes an anachronism.

Thanks to circumstances, Yugoslavia made its choice fairly early in favour of building socialism on principles of self-government, recognition of economic laws and the openness of its economy. Things went smoothly for almost thirty years, then at the beginning of the eighties the country entered a period of crisis. This was the result of our going back on the principles set out in the programme of the Yugoslav League of Communists adopted in 1958.

In what way did you go back on these principles?

Despite the experience and knowledge we had accumulated, we began to forget economic laws and underestimate their significance. Administrative interference in economic affairs increased, and the state began to dominate the economy. That took place both at the federal level and even more so at the level of decentralized structures (at republic and territory levels - **N.T.**). All that led to the ousting of self-government, arbitrary methods of adopting decisions, serious restrictions on the independence of enterprises, and limiting the market.

During that time a large external debt accumulated. Funds received in the form of loans were used without proper consideration. Capital investments did not produce the expected results. And foreign and domestic debts limited possibilities of further development and higher living standards. The economy entered a period of stagnation and inflation. It was in these circumstances that we drew up the long-term programme for economic stabilization.

The programme is founded on the consistent implementation of self-government and market relations, on planning that is receptive to market signals, and on the responsibility of each enterprise for its operations. The state is also given a big role, but its functions are concentrated primarily in the sphere of the macroeconomy.

How is the realization of this programme going?

Changes are taking place. But there is also resistance to these changes. It comes from those who are bent on preserving the status quo and, who refuse to accept the concept of a planned market economy open to the world economy. The changes are also opposed by those who cling to methods of extensive development...The struggle for the changes continues, and it is far from over. Moreover, quite a lot of time was lost from the moment of adoption of the programme by half measures and hesitation. The task of carrying through the economic reform is the main and most urgent one for Yugoslav society, and the country's working class.

The Western press often speaks - and not without malicious glee - of a crisis of socialism, naming specifically the problems that Yugoslavia, the U.S.S.R., Poland and a number of other countries have come up against. What would you say in this connection? What are the ways of solving these problems?

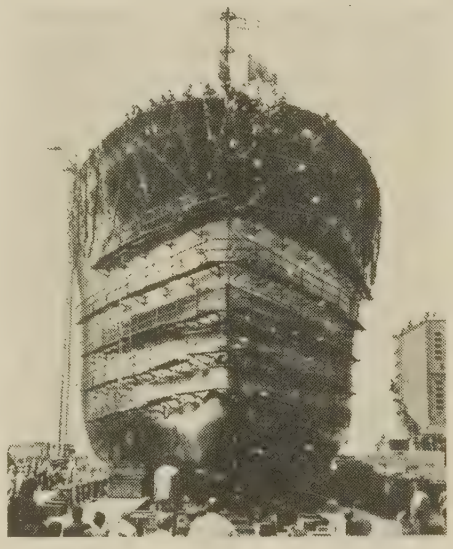
Socialism is a very young form of society. After several decades of rapid development, it has come to face an urgent need to adapt itself to the requirements of the modern economy and science, and to make its social system better suited to public needs.

One should not shut one's eyes to a crisis when it arrives. The important thing is to detect the symptoms in time. And the guarantee of that is the democratism of society, openness and respect for differing views. One should not be a slave to dogma and various prohibitions, nor should one implicitly and thoughtlessly obey the various taboos. It is science that helps assess the results of social progress, analyze them and draw the necessary conclusions in good time. And it a crisis is up on you, then you have to meet it with presence of mind and not miss the chance of carrying through changes the need for which was not realized in time. Or the opportunity to take steps that you once refused to take, believing that nothing dire would happen since socialism by its very nature is immune to crises and stagnation. Much depends on the state of society, on its leading forces and the attitude to science, as well as on the readiness and ability to break with the past even at the cost of risking making a mistake while searching for the new. A stagnant society is a drama. Where water gathers, a bog is formed.

The main problems facing the socialist countries today are more or less the same. in the economic field, it is necessary to turn to a planned market economy, and in the social system, towards democratization, self-government and openness. These two aspects are inseparable. Many economic and social problems proved insoluble because they were hidden in the shadows of an insufficient democraization of society.

Yugoslavia will be able to climb out of its economic crisis if it succeeds in implementing the radical reform, the basis of which is set out in the long-term programme for stabilization and in the decisions of the XIII Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. Amendments are now being made to the country's Constitution. The Associated Labour Act, the next most important legal act after the Constitution, has already undergone changes, and more amendments are to be introduced following the adoption of the new version of the Constitution.

The changes in the Constitution and in



Yugoslavian ships are world-known. The Soviet Union is the biggest customer.

the Associated Labour Act confirm the commodity nature of production under socialism and the significance of the market in its economic system, and underline the role of work collectives and self-governing production organizations (enterprises) as the main units in the economic structure. In the past the emphasis was on smaller units - the main organizations of united labour, which led to the fragmentation of production and accumulation. The amendments to the Constitution also include changes designed to make the Federation more able to pursue a macroeconomic policy. The prerogatives of the Federation are overall control of financial, currency, foreign trade and tax issues. and they must be extended to meet the responsibility of ensuring a balanced federal economy and a stable financial system, exchange rate of the dinar, and balance of payments. And the state should carry out these functions by means of economic and not administrative methods.

An important political condition for the coming changes is the unity of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, a unity that will be tested shortly when the party meets for its conference.

A material condition for surmounting the crisis is settling the problem of the foreign debt on favourable conditions. In addition, it is necessary to resolve the problem of unprofitable and debtor enterprises, those that are constantly on the verge of bankruptcy. Another important factor is raising the level of the working people's consciousness, which reflects not only their attitude to work, but also to the public capital which they are in charge of. The weaknesses of the existing system have been clearly displayed in practice. Principled answers to the main questions have already been given, but so far action has not followed, action aimed at putting the programme into practice and changing the situation.

Many Yugoslav economists are stressing the need for a system of measures. Does that reflect the weakening of economic ties between the republics? The papers write a lot about that...

The Yugoslav market is a single market. The phenomena that undermine the unity of the Yugoslav market are the result of administrative interference in economic relations that run counter both to self-government and a market economy. Etatism at the federal, as well as republic, region and community levels, all constitute formidable obstacles to implementing an effective economic policy. That is what makes the abandonment of etatism, giving enterprises greater freedom and responsibility and turning the economy towards the world market, an essential condition for the development of a highly productive economy, surmounting particularlism, isolationism, local egoism, and the strengthening of the unity of the Yugoslav market.

In the initial stages, when production efficiency is improved, this could lead to a surplus of labour. Of course the subsequent increase in accumulations would stimulate fresh investment to wipe out unemployment. But at present its level is already quite high...

Unemployment is, of course, our main problem. It can be resolved by ensuring the all-round progress of the national economy in all its sectors - public, cooperative and individual. Specifically, also through promoting the development of agriculture, "small" businesses and the services industry. But under no circumstances by extensive means. We have to see to it that every dinar is properly invested.

The Gazela Bridge linking the old and new sections of the Yugoslav capital.

In cleaning up production, non-profitable enterprises should be reorganized using every possible chance of preserving them as production units. But if that proves impossible, they should be shut down. To solve the problem of employment, measures should be taken in the fields of vocational guidance, retraining, and redeployment of labour to those spheres of the economy where conditions exist for rational and profitable production.

Small businesses are much talked and written about in Yugoslavia. As far as we know, this applies not only to the development of small factories on the basis of the traditional public and cooperative sectors, but also to the mobilization of people's personal savings and personal initiative.

Small businesses - in the public, cooperative and private sector - are of great help both in accelerating economic growth and providing employment. The attention being paid to them is not a temporary phenomenon arising out of the crisis. Without them there can be no full-blooded national economy. Nor can there be profitable production or a rational distribution of socially necessary production expenditures. Without small businesses, economic development becomes lopsided, and the mobility of public and personal funds is reduced. The underdevelopment of small businesses is a major cause of shortages and inadequate supplies on the market. Technological progress confirms that small businesses are not a hangover from the past, but an important component of any modern economic system counting on major achievements in the future.

When the question of cooperatives and private businesses is brought up, it evokes a certain psychological or even ideological reaction: does it mean a return to capitalism? There are people in our country as well who think in those terms.

In Yugoslavia too it is often said that the encouragement of personal initiative constitutes a threat to socialism or even simply leads to the restoration of capitalism. But if the socialist economy and its public sector begin to fear the individual initiative of small businesses, then it is time to stop and ask what is wrong with the socialist economy as a whole, not with small businesses. In many countries people with small businesses are helped and encouraged , and while the public sector holds such strong positions, with the state holding the reins in its hands, socialism has nothing to fear from individuals. Private initiative in small businesses can only help to remove some of the deficiencies of the public sector. The latter will become more flexible and learn to use the advantages of the small businesses more fully.

One reason for fearing personal initiative is the fear that separate individuals will become inordinately rich. To that one could reply that if the individual sector develops well, competition will quickly limit both prices and ioncomes and prevent separate producers from acquiring a monopoly. The crux of the problem lies elsewhere: earnings in the public sector are unfortunately too small. They have to be stimulated to increase productivity and improve the quality of labour. Then people will earn more. The important thing is that a person's income should depend on the work he does. That is the basic principle of socialism.

Belgrade

U.S.A.-CUBA

A command from heaven?

TV preacher Pat Robertson has, it seems, received a command from Heaven to run for the presidency. This ideologist of fundamentalism and champion of the "revival of American morals" is now travelling up and down the country to win support. In the event of his election, Robertson says, he will bury the INF treaty and return to power politics - in accordance with God's will.

The bellicose preacher is scaring his audiences with references to the "Soviet menace" and Russian "perfidy." In a televised debate Robertson declared that, in violation of the agreements, the Soviet Union had stationed in Cuba 25 SS-4 and SS-5 medium-range nuclear missiles targeted on the United States. Since the preacher did not name the source, TV viewers were expected to believe that the information had been divinely revealed to him.

But the highest authority refuted Robertson's statement. A White House spokesman said next day that the Soviet missiles sited in Cuba between August and October of 1962 had been evacuated from it in the same year. Earlier, General Welch, chief of staff of the U.S. Air Force who is responsible for aerial reconnaissance, assured the Senate that Cuba was under closer surveillance than any other territory in the world and that his agency was well enough equipped to detect missiles there. Robertson's claim was also convincingly refuted by Cuba.

What, then, is the purpose of the fabrication? As the time for the ratification of the INF treaty approaches, resistance on the part of its opponents is growing. For instance, Senator Helms has proposed an amendment that would include Cuba in the verification area. True, he was unable to provide weighty arguments in favour of his proposal. Robertson's sensational statement, therefore, came in very handy.

A. DIDUSENKO

ENOUGH OF WARS!

ALES ADAMOVICH

The architect Sergei Levitin (who spent 19 years in Smolensk, went to study in Western Europe in 1929, and has since 1940 lived in the U.S.A.) has done much to enable the organization Beyond War to contact the appropriate people among Soviet writers (he is a passionate reader of our literary journals). In a letter to me he has this to say about Americans;

"It is customary to own to one's errors and misconceptions. Americans, young and old, may tell you things that at first sound unbelievable. This is the virtue of American credulity. It takes a weight off your chest. None of the passionate appeals by Academician Likhachev to return to honesty come across here. Mendacity is familiar to everyone, both at the top and at the bottom, and its presence in all cells and cross-sections of life is taken for granted...But there is a limit...The presidential hopeful Hart is fond of women. All right. But why be evasive about it? The congressional Iran-Contras hearing has been going on day after day... On the TV screen you see a self-confident high-ranking official being forced to admit that he was lying. Then the room where the hearing is being held becomes a seat of judgement but the general tenor of democratic coexistence is not disturbed. The liars get it in the neck but their weaknesses are treated with understanding. Smiles flash across the room. In dealing with the Beyond War people you always come across the typical American brand of optimism and goodwill."

How true. Each one of us has friends the memory of whom brings a happy smile as soon as we recall their voices, faces and gestures. I have just picked up from my desk the book **Breakthrough,** with the photos and names of participants on our tour: Donald Fitton, Martin Hellman, Harold Sandler, Richard Roney,Richard Lagerstrom - dozens of first and last names, and you find yourself smiling an involuntary and foolish smile. And Craig Barnes, so nice, so kind and gentle and yet so deeply aware of the urgency of our business, and therefore giving us no respite, no quarter. When I warned him, quoting Academician Raushenbakh's joke ("O.K., we'll show them, we'll have them make eight speeches a day!"), Craig's retort was unexpectedly serious: "Did you think that saving mankind was an easy job?"

He is still spouting words, the quick Craig Barnes, just as John has just done, rolling his harsh crackling pellets. Georgy Andreyevich gives me a summary interpretation from time to time: "Now he is talking about you, about visiting you in Minsk, about Byelorussia..." I hear my name Ales again and again. Soon it will be my turn to speak. Shall I start with Churchill? After all, it's a learned audience: "Can it happen that the shining wings of science will bring the Stone Age back to Earth?" (with all the stones contaminated, radioactive). Then about terrorism against humanity, the terrorism of science. Incidentally, Craig has promised today that he will tell us a parable that will make us all turn green with envy. Oh, here it is. As a lawyer he frequently gets telephone calls from a colleague who introduces himself: "This is Dr Spock." Once he was busy and in a bad mood, and on hearing,"This is..."he told "Dr Spock" to go to the devil. To his horror, this time it was the real Dr Spock. The moral of the story: don't miss your chance. Sometimes it's your only one. Don't respond the way Craig did to the real Dr Spock when you get a message from the other side. Will there be another chance?

* * *

" Now that I've seen him face to face, I have no more fear," I hear on TV. in the streets of Washington, American women, agog with excitement, are discussing an astounding story: the motorcade came to a halt, and Gorbachev got out, joined the crowd, shook hands, exchanged remarks, laughed...The security officers were running around in confusion. Such a bold out-of-the-ordinary gesture appeals to Americans, especially to American women, particularly effusive people. And in the Beyond War movement, their contribution is most conspicuous. Here is a bulky album with photos of our tour presented just before we left Los Angeles by air (together with a glass globe and a white cowboy hat with a feather in it: if the hat is black, the cowboy is dangerous and trigger-happy, if it is white like the one I got, the cowboy is a good guy, a pacifist, so to speak. That's what I was told). The faces in the album are smiling, beautiful in their sincerity and enthusiasm, though they are all different. Beginning with our first American hostess in the city where our peaceful mission got on its way: the beautiful and shapely Katty from Santa Cruz. Or the fair-haired Alla Spolsdorf from Fresno: a soft voice, shy, accented Russian, following us wherever we went, always ready to be of help....

Yes, and also "the beautiful Laura" from Irvine. Where is her picture? No, not all of them are to be found in the bulky album. I gave her my Minsk scarf. Then it suddenly got cold and rainy. And I received instead a hand-made one with an embroidered emblem **Beyond War** from Lynn Whiting from Carmel. Another one went to Craig Barnes. Lynn had promised to present her handiwork to all the Beyond War activists she knew. But her father was seriously ill, and she was unable to keep her promise. In fact, she only met us very briefly, for she had left him at home.

Warm-hearted, generous people. Sometimes we were even at a loss. The closer we got to Los Angeles, the more perplexed the guest's face grew. The thoughtful John noticed it and immediately brought a large bag from a shop: "No problem."

"You know," an American woman admitted, "the way I visualized a Russian was this: Ivan Bednov in a sheepskin coat

Continued from our previous issue.

and, for some reason or other, with a big knife. This picture has been with me since my schooldays."

They sounded as if they were talking about their childhood nightmares. And there was a sense of infinite gratitude that those were just dreams, and that what is now happening between our countries is the reality. It turns out that there is a remedy, there is hope, and we can be saved. It is just such relations, mutual trust and openness that will do the job.

"But how will you handle your military-industrial complex? (These are subjects of men's talk, questions and discussions). Frankly, we don't even know how to handle ours."

I heard this from Americans on several occasions. They admit that they are trapped. The bait they swallowed is the fear of "Ivan Bednov," and now that the drug of fear is beginning to wear off, they find that the danger of war and death is coming from those at home rather than from those far away.

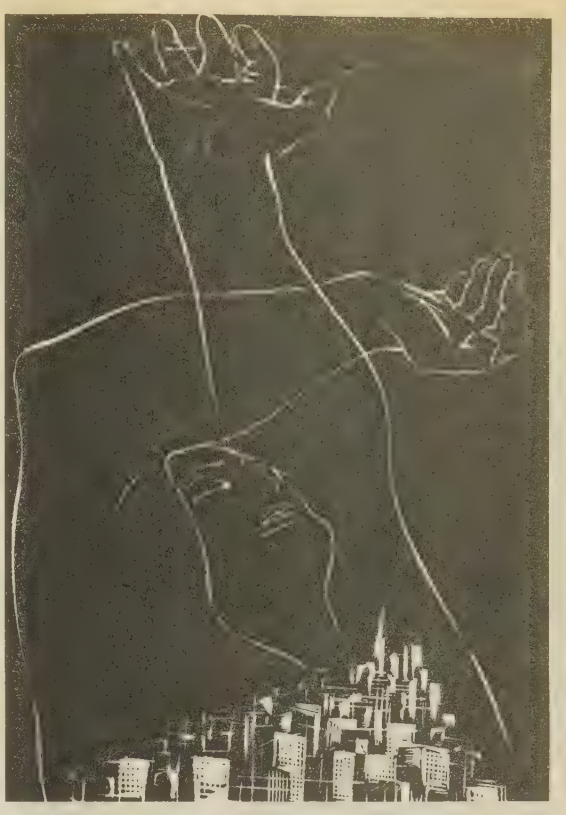
"How do you expect to cope with your military-industrial complex?" Simplistic thinking, thinking by analogy. But on reflection, they agree: Indeed, you have no one whose interests are directly served by military production. But what can we do?

Two Americans came to grips with each other in an argument in a Los Angeles university auditorium. It was as if a bomb had gone off. It happened as soon as we addressed ourselves to the military-industrial complex (after all, its base today is right here in California). It turned out that the man who looked like a boxer had long been following us (he said so himself), observing us discussing peace and friendship while someone in the audience was allegedly trying to talk people out of giving aid and money to the 'Nicaraguan contras.' And generally, "You are all Commies!... Afghanistan... nuthouses! And wars are not the main calamity: it has been estimated (a reference to the press) that more people have been killed by tyrannical regimes than on the battlefield."

It was the one and only incident of this kind. But, still, it reaffirmed that "on the other side of the street" the danger of such clashes had not been removed and that there was no clear-cut boundary between today and yesterday in our relations with Americans.

One thing was clear: the spiteful stereotypes of our volunteer escort found no rapport in the American audience. And he obviously felt it as he sat down in silent dismay. As for the "nuthouses" and Afghanistan, a dialogue did take place, dispassionate and based on facts: is it true that a law has been passed permitting appeal to a court of law against illegal ditention in a mental hospital? And is it true that you intend to withdraw your troops from Afghanistan?

What was obvious was a sincere desire to understand the other side and express one's own view as to how all different issues should be resolved in the interests of peace rather than an attempt to expose and to sting. Incidentally, when, in a wrap-up session, Beyond War leaders and activists (Richard Ratbone, William McGlashan) discussed the next steps to be taken so as not to "mark time in a friendly embrace," as someone put it, the following prospect was defined: somehow or other, our social systems influence each other by example, positive or negative. And, viewed by an American friend, there is much to be seen that should be improved in Soviet life (and why not? After all, isn't that what we are doing when we quote foreigners' comments on our hotels, service, etc.). The same goes for the capitalist system: we could point out (and we did so right there) that it does no credit to such a rich country to economize so callously and unwisely on medical aid to the elderly; and so on on the same lines. One should grow accustomed to the fact that all social structures on our planet are gravitating towards an awareness of their interdependence and interaction, and that work in this direction is also work for peace. We walked about children at all our get-togethers. Especially after visiting schools where children sang in English and Russian children's song, "May there always be sunshine!



Man. Drawing by Stasys Krasauskas

May there always be mother! May there always be me!" In fact, whatever reasons or arguments are put forward, the grim fact remains that adults have stockpiled 60 thousand warheads, a million Hiroshimas, for the 2 billion children of our planet. For their own children!

This argument can knock the bottom out of any propaganda stereotype in the ordinary American's mind, given the Americans' love for children and devotion to them. Incidentally, Beyond War appeals to just these sentiments, and this is its strength in America.

When we spoke in a Los Angeles Protestant church, feelings ran so high that it seemed the church walls had put us all in the mood. There I used many of my "formulas" and ideas, by no means new, repeated time and again in my "novelas" and reflections (fortunately, neither John nor Craig would notice it: I was speaking for them for the first time). Everything came into play.

But a physicist who had refused to work for the war business and was now actively exposing it told me there: "If you lived here, you would be a serious problem to our government."

Well, dear friend, we all have our problems. New thinking is not so simple, even when it becomes, as it does in our country, national policy.

Very well, Americans agree, we shall disarm. But what about the other nuclear (and near-nuclear) powers? The problem does exist, especially when you hear every now and then: how can Europeans sleep peacefully without a bomb of their own under their pillow? And yet the first step should be taken and taken as resolutely as possible by those who have the greatest power. An end to confrontation in the U.N.between America and the Soviet Union will restore the original power of this organization, which arose out of mankind's sufferings and hatred of fascism, war and wars.

Every week the smart Los Angeles Hilton hotel draws a crowd, half of whom are millionaires, for the gathering called World Events. The Russian word meropriyatie (a formal

occasion) came to mind when, preparing for the ritual, we were briefed by a very vigorous and rather unceremonious lady who looked like an ageing girl scout. She placed me in the ranks next to a charming old lady, the president of a major bank, and behind another millionaire, lined up everybody else, and marching at the head of our column, her hand raised in a salute, led us into the auditorium where we were already expected. (She did not fail to inform us that the usual speakers here were people of Bush's and Shultz's calibre and that Reagan had also spoken here. That was the kind of audience we were supposed to face.) "What kind of a novela has Ales prepared for this audience?" That's what I read in the worried, yet enterprising expression on Craig's face. To Beyond War, the millionaire audience was its chance of getting financial assistance. And I realized that my main job was to prove that no millions can bring any joy to nuclear dead.

Perhaps, this one would do (I had read it in an American magazine some time in the 1950s): two cars are speeding towards each other for a head-on collision along a narrow concrete road. Which one will make way for the other? (In those days there were fewer bombs but as much, or perhaps even more, bluffing). The Russian produced a bottle and then threw it out. Look, I have emptied it, and now I don 't care a damn. What will the American guy do now to deflate his opponent? Ah, here it is! Without stopping the car, he gets busy with the steering wheel, removes it and throws it away. Now I will never turn. You do the turning.

This touched off a wave of merriment. The questions were quite proper: like all Americans today, they wanted to know more about perestroika, about what it means for an America that is obviously tired of an atmosphere of fear and insecurity.

And we resumed the subject of children time and again, even here as I faced the millionaires. For world politics is not a motor race where only your own life is at stake. Our "cars" also carry two billion children and, what is more, all life on our planet.

Time and again I have heard Americans say at our meetings: "I'm doing it for the sake of my children." "She is thanking you in the name of her baby"... And the baby has not yet come into this world.

And when, after the speeches, a woman bent over my hand in a rather strange manner (was she going to kiss it?), I was alarmed, intercepted her hand and kissed it myself. And then, I must admit, they dealt the final blow. What sort of thing is this? Who and what are we, folks, if we are imploring each other not to kill ourselves, yourselves and everybody else, if we are still trying to figure out when to stop killing - tomorrow or the day after?

"As the atom bomb casts a more and more sombre shadow over the world," Albert Einstein once summarized life in the nuclear age, "it has become increasingly clear that all men are brothers."

At our closing session in Los Angeles I was approached by a little girl whose parents in the second row were looking on, their faces very grave. And I understood that this was not a simple matter, that the girl was an envoy of the adults' serious thoughts, concerns and hopes. The girl handed me a piece of cardboard with a picture of our Olympic teddy-bear lifted by coloured balloons and chanting the word "peace" written in Russian. Scrawled under the picture was "My name is Celine" and again "peace". Enclosed in an envelope was a red heart made of cloth, with a green thread attached to it. The girl quickly and gently pressed her head to my hand and ran away. Her parents did not smile. They looked on and were as grave as ever...

For heaven's sake, is it only the bomb that can bring us inhabitants of the planet Earth closer together? But be that as it may, we were still able to look each other - and our childre n - in the eyes. Is everything that happened before really possible?

No,we have had enough of wars. Is there any other phrase or feeling that conveys more hope, confidence in one's own intelligence and respect for the very foundation of human existence?...

HUMAN RIGHTS

From mutual accusations to cooperation

Public Commission for International Cooperation on Humanitarian Issues and Human Rights of the Soviet Committee for European Security and Cooperation has met in Moscow for a plenary session. The Commission includes prominent Soviet public figures, religious and cultural leaders, and eminent scientists and journalists. They still have to test many forms and methods of activity, unprecedented in the Soviet Union. Yet, the first steps of the Commission indicate both the possibility and productivity of meaningful contacts with the West in the field of human rights.

The chairman of the Commission F. Burlatsky, informed the participants in the session of some of its international activities. Among other things, contacts were established in the course of Washington summit with many prominent U.S. political leaders and public figures including ex-President Jimmy Carter and the Chairman of the Human Rights Committee, Congressman Hoyer. Early in January the Commission participated in a conference of public forces in Holland which had on its list of participants delegates from 13 countries including the U.S.A.

The meeting in Moscow with leading representatives of the International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights also demonstrated that, although some differences do remain, influential circles in a number of Western countries are showing signs of a new approach to cooperation. A concept of cooperation in the humanitarian area emphasizing an exchange of positive experience rather than mutual accusations is winning increasing support.

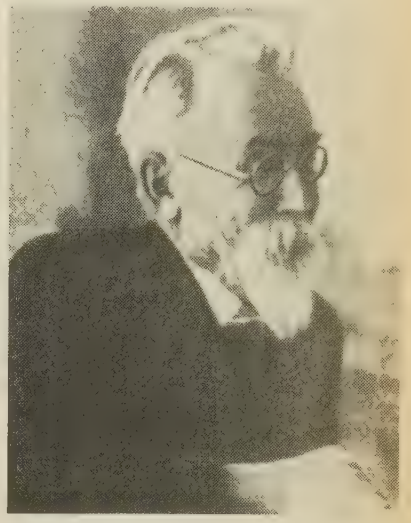
The participants in the session discussed the role the Commission could play in getting rid of the legacy of the personality cult and the periods of stagnation as well as in overcoming the cultural and information barriers between East and West. Proposals have been made for the development of cultural exchanges with the West and for Commission-sponsored publications. An interesting contribution was made on this subject by Irina Antonova, Director of the Pushkin Fine Arts Museum.

ALEXANDER DROZDOV

The triumph of reason is the triumph for reasonable people

VITALY SEVASTYANOV and VLADIMIR PRYAKHIN

March 12, 1988, was the 125th anniversary of the birth of Vladimir Vernadsky. Even a brief list of his scientific achievements shows that he was a man of encyclopaedic interests and erudition. He founded the sciences of geochemistry, biogeochemistry and radiogeology, as well as a scientific school, and was organizer and director of the Institute of Radium, the Biogeochemical Laboratory and several other research establishments. Vladimir Vernadsky was also the first president of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences.



Vernadsky's integrity and single-mindedness enabled him to make an epoch-making contribution to science.

However, neither his titles nor his works can possibly give a comprehensive idea of his personality or his teaching, which is outstanding in the history of world science. It is only the present-day level of scientific achievement that has made it possible fully to comprehend the true value of his legacy, not only as natural scientist, but also as thinker.

Addressing the international forum For a Nuclear-Free World, for the Survival of Mankind in the Moscow Kremlin, Mikhail Gorbachev quoted Vladimir Vernadsky's prophetic words:

"The time is not far off when man will harness atomic energy, a source of power that will enable him to build his life as he sees fit... Will man be able to make use of this power to apply it for his own good, and not for self-destruction? Is he mature enough to make proper use of the power science will inevitably endow him with? Scientists should not shut their eyes to the possible consequences of their research and scientific progress. They should feel responsible for all the consequences ensuing from their discoveries. They should gear their work to a better organization of mankind as a whole."

Vladimir Vernadsky voiced this warning 23 years before atomic bombs were dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and half a century before the question of the survival of the human race arose in the face of the threat of nuclear self-annihilation.

A personal acquaintance of Leo Tolstoy, Vladimir Vernadsky formulated the quintessence of the great writer's works with scientific precision and artistic depth: the basis of life is the search for truth, and the task in hand is to state this truth uncompromisingly. Vernadsky himself was always faithful to the principle of scientific truth, regardless of other people's opportunist voltes-face and scientific or pseudoscientific ambitions. It would be fair to say that he regarded fidelity to the truth not only as a precondition for scientific knowledge, but also as a civic and philosophical criterion in human ethics.

After the Chernobyl disaster, Valery Legasov, member of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences, expressed a seemingly eccentric idea which was in fact compatible with Vladimir Vernadsky's ethical principles. "The spacecraft which made Yuri Gagarin's flight possible was developed and manufactured by people who stood on the shoulders of Tolstoy and Dostoyevsky... The people who designed this spacecraft shared a high moral feeling which pervaded everything: their mutual relations, their attitude to people, technology and their duties. Technology as such was only a means of expression of their inherent ethical traits."

The Vernadskys and the Korolenkos (Vladimir Korolenko, Russian writer, and Vladimir Vernadsky were second cousins) were a family of scientists, writers and public leaders. Vernadsky was a man of outstanding natural abilities. Though he already knew several languages, he decided to learn Swedish at a mature age "to be able to read scientific literature." But aptitude alone, however brilliant, could not guarantee success. In one of his novels Turgenev bitterly complained that Russian freshmen at Heidelberg University always surprised their German professors with their sober outlook on life, only to surprise them by their laziness later.

His systematic thought and fidelity to the scientific theory he evolved led him from mineralogy to chemistry, from chemistry to biology and thence to philosophy. His distinguished abilities have left their mark on each of these sciences.

As a man with a sense of civic duty Vernadsky fought illiteracy, poverty and the scourge of cholera. He wrote:

"You see people trampled underfoot everywhere. Sometimes I become sorely aware of bureaucracy ruthlessly crushing human souls in dungeons, prisons, in various towns, in places remote and less remote, in the splendid homes of noble families and in the hovels of the poor."

In 1896, in the sphere of socio-political life, remote from the natural sciences, Lenin's pamphlet on fines ("Explanation of the Law on Fines Imposed on Factory Workers") caught his eye. Vernadsky described it as an excellent publication.

Vladimir Vernadsky never looked on the natural sciences as a means solely for satisfying his scientific curiosity. He persistently looked for and found practical applications for the discoveries he made in basic research. In his day space research and exploration were all but barred from applied research. Despite this, he took not only a scientific, but also a practical interest in it. He used to say: "The chemistry of the Earth will lead us to the

chemistry of the stars. Although this is the realm of dreams, we must blaze the trail to space to comprehend the Earth."

Vernadsky's high ethical standards both as scientist and citizen were particularly in evidence when he devoted his efforts to the study of living nature to formulate the categories and principles of biogeochemistry. In laying the foundations of a new science, he cast a glance into the future of mankind, several decades ahead of his time. Vernadsky's works are of inestimable value for the solution of problems bearing on the protection of the environment today.

He arrived at the idea that man, the personality, was also a planetary phenomenon which he called the noosphere, and that the brain - or instrument of thought - was a law-governed product of the development of matter and the Universe. Vernadsky's theory has now been confirmed by the findings of modern physics. This science has experimentally proved that, if the physical constants of the Universe, which determine the behavior of elementary particles, had varied in even the smallest degree, the existing complex and refined molecular structures - bioorganic compounds - would not have evolved. This means that there would not have been any life. Life is built in the architectonics of the Universe and its laws. The fact that the anthropic (man's) view of the structure of the Universe has established itself in modern physics and astrophysics has confirmed the validity of Vernadsky's theory of the noosphere.

Vernadsky laid the cornerstone of the natural scientific foundation for new political thinking. Conventional political thinking proceeded and continues to proceed from the idea that the life of each individual and of human civilization in general is doomed to end. It follows that it is permissible to resort to any means to gratify one's vanity. This seemingly abstract assertion about the end of civilization plainly implies unrestricted indulgence and the worship of force.

By contrast, Vladimir Vernadsky and other Russian cosmologists, such as Konstantin Tsiolkovsky, Alexander Chizhevsky and Nikolai Fyodorov, advanced humanist ideas about the infinite existence of life endowed with reason being possible in the Universe. People who see purpose in the existence of reason on Earth draw inspiration from this concept.

He gave thought to the future, to the age of the manned space flight, when man will understand that "he cannot love humanity unless he loves the individual. He will realize that sympathy for mankind is not love and that, unless he loves humanity, it will be a cold and artificial feeling constantly harassed by doubt or despair. Man will know that unless he loves, unless he forgets about himself and all his ambitions, and unless he merges all his dreams and desires in one great love, his actions will be dominated by pride and narrow-mindedness, and will willy-nilly cause great harm. This feeling of great love will be important to people who cherish no hope of a better life in the next world, giving them a strength without which life would be impossible for them."

Attempts to comprehend our earth have been made from times immemorial. Could this heart-shaped world map, dating back to the 16th century, be a prototype of Vernadsky's noosphere!

Love for humanity through love for living individuals. Isn't this a scientific formulation of new political thinking? One which has rejected the use of nuclear weapons, proclaimed a unilateral moratorium on nuclear testing and helped conclude an agreement on the elimination of two classes of nuclear weapon. A formula that has removed the iron curtain which separated not only nations, but people as well.

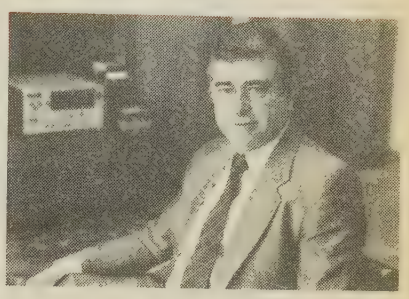
Vernadsky lived through two world wars. His greatest contribution to the treasury of the human spirit was his proposal for the development of the principles for the prevention of a third world war and the self-destruction of mankind in a nuclear holocaust.

Regrettably, when we are dealing with new political thinking, we rarely analyze conventional political thinking and its sources. Vernadsky was a global thinker. As far as he was concerned, a specific subject of research was only a pretext for a theory as to the purpose of life. As a mature scientist he believed that the traditional political outlook was determined by two main factors, namely religion and the utilitarian approach to life of the man in the street. Vernadsky and his associates rejected both. Their world outlook was based on the principle that thought, as the basis of the personality, is immortal. Thought is the creator of harmony in the chaos of the Universe, and its own master.

In his world outlook, Vladimir Vernadsky was an optimist. But it would be wrong to think that this optimism stemmed solely from the objective laws governing the development of animate and inanimate nature. As Iosif Shklovsky, authoritative student of the Universe, rightly put it, "it would be absurd to regard these laws as 'pessimistic' or 'optimistic.'" Nature includes both the seeds of future civilizations and the weeds of disasters. When man takes a decision prompted by his intellect, he makes a choice in each specific case. Unless an intellect, however powerful, is equipped with active political principles, it is doomed to passive contemplation and vegetation. According to Galileo Galilei, the triumph of reason will be the triumph of reasonable people. ■

What will the 21st century bring?

What does television hold in store for us? Shall we see TV programmes from various countries and continents? When shall we be able to pick up programmes from repeater communication satellites - and will the direct telecasting (DT) era ever arrive at all, many New Times readers ask. We asked HENRIKAS JUSKEVICIUS, deputy chairman of the U.S.S.R. State Committee on Radio and Television, to reply to them.



Western experts expect television to undergo revolutionary changes before the century is out. Direct television satellites will become common, new-generation equipment will appear, the number of TV programmes will increase. Does this apply to Soviet television too?

Each of these prospects merits a separate discussion. Let's start with the programmes. Indeed, in the West, TV viewers are offered dozens of programmes to choose from, and one can't help wondering why our television has so few of them.

It's not easy to say how many TV programmes are enough. The number of programmes does not depend on technical facilities alone. In the West, commercial considerations take precedence over all others. As you switch over from channel to channel, you discover that thrillers, whodunits and westerns are being shown at the same time... In America, I turned on a TV set one night to chance on a horoscope, a still which was obviously intended to fill a void.

Air time should be used more rationally by the coordinated efforts of those running different channels. Considering, however, that in our country telecasting is done in 43 languages in eleven time zones, and that by the year 2000 another 67 local television studios will have gone into service, this is going to be quite a problem for us too.

Let us be frank about it. If we were technically capable of telecasting programmes over, say, ten channels today, would we be in a position to fill them? Television is often criticized for showing old movies, but does the film industry produce too many good pictures a year? I remember the conference of Intervision directors held some fifteen years ago. They said then that given the appropriate technical facilities they could step up the programme exchange rate appreciably. Well, today we have several satellites and ground television channels affording us an exchange of programmes with socialist countries, but do we see more of the Intervision caption on our TV screens than we did 15-20 years ago? Or take radio broadcasting channels. We've had our Ministry of Communications set up stereo channels with Berlin, Warsaw, Prague, Budapest... However, even these channels are idle sometimes. There exist vast potentialities for international exchanges in this field. We have international television news exchanges several times a day. The news programme Vremya keeps viewers up to date with the latest developments around the world. News come in from Eurovision and the American continent. True, not all stories are reported to TV audiences: the air time given over to news telecasts cannot be extended infinitely. Now we are considering introducing a special news channel.

As you see, increasing the number of television channels involves the problem of filling them with high-quality programmes. The creative potential of West European television, for instance, has proved unequal to this task - hence the prominence of American programmes on European television screens.

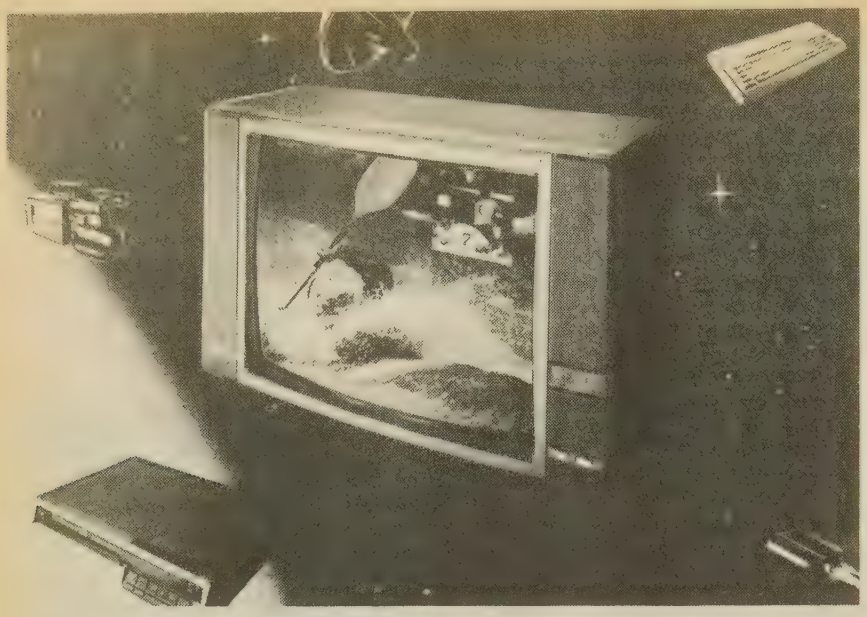
What are the proportions of this "TV expansionism"?

The American television film industry has created a high-pressure mechanism for pushing its programmes. More than 90 per cent of television films on the international market are of American provenance. This is largely due to a foolproof commercial trick: while a one-hour feature programme costs a million dollars to make in the U.S., it is screened for ten thousand dollars or even less on the international market. Naturally, any commercial television station finds it more expedient to buy a cheap programme than to spend big money making one of its own. As a result, U.S. television features take up 40 per cent of air time on West European television (and as much as 80 per cent in Portugal and the Netherlands). American television programmes are on the air 63 hours a day in Britain, France, the F.R.G. and Italy. In the F.R.G., 25 per cent cent of all TV programmes are American..

This situation is regarded as cause for grave concern by West European politicians and public figures. Jack Lang, the former French Minister of Culture, has spoken of American cultural imperialism and the invasion of Coca-Cola culture. In some countries, it is true, efforts are being made to restrict the telecasting of foreign programmes. The Europa channel, set up jointly by the Netherlands, Portugal, Ireland, the F.R.G. and Italy in 1985, proved shortlived and went bankrupt.

And what's the situation with Soviet television today?

Our two national programmes are telecast countrywide via seven communication satellites. The Leningrad television service area is being expanded steadily to include more and more cities. Neighbouring constituent republics exchange television programmes. The trouble is that there still exist so-called "fringe areas" where picture quality is rather poor. We have such areas not only in the East, but in



the European part too, and there every fringe zone prevents hundreds of thousands from viewing television due to high population density.

A new satellite system - STV-12 - is to be built towards the end of the current five-year period in order to improve television picture quality in the fringe areas. The system will "distribute" national TV programmes, as well as those telecast by individual republics, territories and regions. European socialist countries will also be included in this system. Each of them will get a channel for picking up an extra programme on its territory. Border areas of neighbouring West European countries will also be within the system's reach.

What else are Soviet TV viewers to expect in the near future?

As we were drawing up development plans we came to the conclusion that by 1995 we must have five national programmes plus a high-definition television programme. One of the five channels is to be reserved for round-the-clock news telecasts.

Moreover, we are now busy working out the Global Moscow system, which is to bring Soviet TV programmes to Soviet institutions practically all over the world via the Gorizont satellites.

Wouldn't it make more sense to discuss the number and content of future programmes with the viewers themselves? Incidentally, do you plan to introduce children's, musical, sports and other specialized channels?

Our general concept makes no provision for them, though this does not mean that we have dismissed the idea altogether.

Are our programmes picked up abroad today?

Yes, many countries can do that. In the U.S., for instance, there is a special organization called the Orbita, whose job it is to distribute Soviet television programmes; besides which they are regularly received by the Turner broadcasting corporation in the U.S. and Japan's Asahi... Many foreign TV companies request our permission to receive the Vremya news programme, especially when important political events are in progress. We grant them such permission. True, this practice does not please everyone, particularly as regards radio broadcasting. Voice of America broadcasts and BBC programmes now come through to our territory unhindered, with 80 per cent of the VOA transmitters located not in the U.S. proper but in the immediate vicinity of the U.S.S.R. But no sooner had a Cuban radio station started relaying Radio Moscow transmissions to southern Florida in the medium waveband than the U.S. Information Agency burst into vigorous protests. And, mind you, Voice of America programmes are much easier to pick up in the Soviet Union than Radio Moscow programmes are in the United States: we broadcast on short wave only, and only 3-4 per cent of American receivers have SW bands.

Even those TV viewers who do not live in fringe areas are not too pleased with picture quality. What does technological progress promise them?

The Japanese company Sony created the first high-definition TV equipment units about five years ago. Demonstrations were arranged in a number of countries, including the Soviet Union. The new system provides excellent picture quality, which I personally liked even better than that produced by a cine projector.

Western Europe followed suit shortly afterwards, and the first specimens of European-made high-definition television equipment were demonstrated at the Montreux exhibition last year.

I am convinced that high-definition television has a big future in the U.S.S.R. as well. Imagine tens of thousands of electronic cinemas showing, on large screens, crystal-clear, sharp TV pictures picked up through a satellite. Such a system will be most welcome in our country with its vast expanses.

If I've understood you aright, this problem consists in deciding which high-definition television standard to accept - the Japanese or the West European one. You can't do without international cooperation in this matter. What criteria will decide the choice?

It all depends on whom we find more convenient to cooperate with in practical terms. I think either system is acceptable to us from the technical point of view. However, we know from the record of our relations with Western companies that a business deal often goes through several stages. At the first stage, contract-signing, everything seems to go smoothly. Then an embargo is imposed on some part of the technology, as COCOM has done on more than one occasion, and we have to supply the missing link on our own. Then word comes that the company is prepared to provide the whole lot, but we no longer want it. Frankly, the embargos have proved most beneficial in promoting progress in our own television industry! Recently, for instance, an embargo was imposed on selling us certain types of digital-recording magnetic tapes. All right, we shall have such tapes of our own in a year or so. We are not going to depend solely on imported equipment for the development of our television, but if Western companies wish to cooperate, to do things together, we are all for it, and we make no secret of being interested in such cooperation.

High-definition television is still a thing of the future, but what is being done to improve picture quality on the screens of the TV sets currently in use? In Western Europe, competition between the SECAM and PAL systems went on for years until these systems were finally replaced by a uniform European standard of transmission via C-MAC and D2-MAC satellites. Is Soviet television going to change over to this standard?

You see, no 100 per cent uniformity has been attained yet, with the F.R.G. and France accepting one version of this standard (and, indeed, improving TV picture quality somewhat), and Britain and

other European countries - another version. A more important step towards unification was made two years ago when the International Telecommunication Union adopted a uniform world standard of digital television. As for the standard you've mentioned, it is supposed not so much to serve as a compromise between SECAM and PAL and make life easier for the viewers, as to help the European industry market its new goods.

For us, accepting D2-MAC makes no sense. First of all, there is no ignoring the fact that there are ninety million TV sets in our country adjusted to the old system. Secondly, the changeover will cost a lot of money - on top of the heavy expenditure involved in the introduction of high-definition television a few years from now.

In view of the size of our television network, we must take an extremely well-thought-out approach to the creation of a new infrastructure. If we make a mistake now, the consequences will be apparent even 15-20 years later. The Ekran satellite is a case in point. The designers were told to make its service zone as wide as was practicable. They did, and everyone was happy until it turned out that the satellite, beaming telecasts to eight time zones simultaneously, brought the programme "Good Night, Children" at lunch time to the west and at midnight to the east of the country.

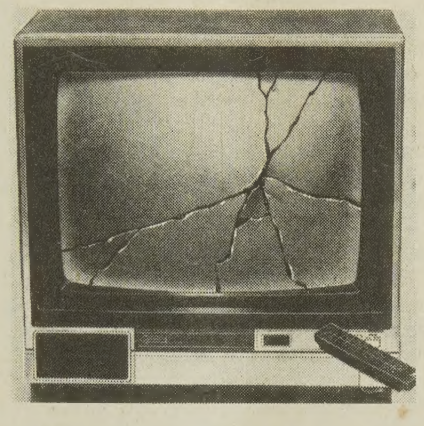
The changeover to the uniform European D2-MAC standard is largely due to the latter being more suitable for the reception of direct television programmes. In a Paris-Match article, the French journalist Arthur Conte predicted that in the near future space would become an enormous screen with hundreds of thousands of TV programmes competing for attention on it. Just how well founded are these forecasts - and what, in your opionion, is the outlook for direct television?

I think it's a bit too early today to speak of an "enormous screen" of that kind. I'm not sure that direct television will assume global proportions. This problem has several aspects to it: technical, legal, ethical, moral.

There are two kinds of space television transmissions: one uses commuinication satellites and the other, direct telecasting satellites. The former provides for the transmission of signals to definite receivers and the latter - for signal propagation over a certain area. Today Japan is the only country to have a direct telecasting satellite which is used for retransmitting two programmes to inaccessible places. The U.S., with its far-flung ground network (cables, in particular) uses only commuinication satellites which distribute programmes via ground stations.

The first French-F.R.G. direct telecasting satellite, the TV-SAT 1, was launched in Europe on November 21, 1987. It met with a setback: one of its solar-cell panels failed to open. Two of its channels were expected to work, nevertheless, and commercial television companies set their sights on them right away. These hopes were dashed: the faulty panel had blocked the channels' antennae. The satellite is still non-operational. Failure to bring it to life will cost 580 million DM.

A recent revolution in cable television technology - I mean the advent of fiber-optics capable of carrying a large number of high-quality TV signals - made experts



Too much of a good thing...

doubt the value of direct telecasting as previously visualized (i.e., as global television). Now many relevant projects are being revised. Economic calculations suggest that a "satellite-plus-fiber-optic-cable-network" system could prove more efficient. This, I am sure, is the most likely trend in technological progress in the field of television.

Nevertheless, its achievements include relatively inexpensive (some 1,000 dollars) personal receivers which can be attached to a domestic TV set to pick up programmes direct from a commuinication satellite. Such receivers, already quite common in Europe and America, are now finding their way into the western Soviet Union as well.

It was not by chance that I mentioned the legal and ethical aspects of the problem. According to the regulations of the International Telecommunication Union, signals coming in from such a satellite can be picked up only by those authorized to do so by the transmitting party. Otherwise it would be like tapping a private telephone conversation. There is the copyright problem, with each television company purchasing the right to beam a certain programme to a certain territory. Just imagine a private company intercepting our contractual TV transmissions from the Calgary Olympics and showing them on its own cable channel. That would be a gross violation of copyright, or "TV piracy." Many individuals engage in such "piracy," some deliberately, others unwittingly. Therefore programmes are often ciphered now lest unauthorized people pick them up from a satellite. I think the use of personal receivers is often fraught with copyright violations and failures to comply with the regulations of the International Telecommunication Union. Therefore we must provide against the possible legal complications of using them.

Let's face it: there are TV corporations which would not mind at all having their programmes received without any restrictions. But it is what these programmes are about that makes all the difference. If they preach violence, glorify war, and kindle communal feuds, would it be right to expose our audiences to them? This kind of propaganda is outlawed in our country. So why not protect our children from it. I am all for broader exchanges, for the promotion of international cooperation, and bringing the achievements of world culture within the reach of as many people as possible. But I am also for cultural exchanges (those via television channels included) which serve noble human causes.

Any assessment of a work of art is largely subjective, isn't it! We were "protected" from "harmful" films and books for years only to discover in the end that most of the fears came from the "just in case" type of thinking. Is the same thing likely to happen to direct television? I am convinced that today anyone can tell real values from fake ones. As for the younger generation, wouldn't we be better advised to teach it good judgement rather than impose arbitrary taboos?

I agree with you that the cultural standard of most TV viewers is sufficiently high. But you must bear in mind that the mass media have a no small effect on upbringing. If a six-year-old is shown violent scenes on television, the effects of this kind of influence will be hard even for a good teacher to undo. As I see it, the making of international programmes must be placed under public control. We take good care of our cultural heritage, of things made of stone and wood. So why shouldn't we protect our spiritual values and prevent others from imposing alien traditions and customs on us? I think every nation has the right to do so.

Interviewer **BORIS BALKAREI**

From the editors. We invite readers to share their ideas on what kind of television can best promote the new thinking and bring people of all continents closer together.

The tragic history of the Kampuchean people under the Pol Pot regime reproduced on stage and screen.

A country in the jungle

A scene from the play.

In the middle of 1986 dramatist Alexei Kazantsev read his new play to the Sovremennik theatre company. Opinions differed: half of the company believed it should be staged, while the other half was against. The Sovremennik theatre did not produce "Great Buddha, Help Them!"

When it became clear that the Sovremennik had turned down the play, producer Mikhail Ali-Husein decided to assemble a small group of actors for the express purpose of staging it. The group included Vladimir Salnikov and Leonid Vlasov from the Taganka theatre. Viktor Kostromin from Satirikon, film actors Valery Nemeshayev, Alexander Rakhlenko, and Vladislav Fedchenko, and from the Sovremennik Igor Kalyadin. All of them wanted to see the play produced and they worked on it free of charge.

It was not an easy undertaking, for rehearsals without permanent premises were difficult. Nevertheless the play reached audiences: it had its premiere on the rehearsal stage of the Moscow Regional Drama Theatre.

The idea of the play "Great Buddha, Help Them!" was inspired by the events in Kampuchea. Reading newspaper reports on the reign of terror under Pol Pot, Alexei Kazantsev sought to find the key to the psychology of those who, while posing as champions of high ideals, perpetuated such crimes.

"When I was working on the play," he said, "I tried to find an explanation of how dreams of a better life and future could degenerate into the exact opposite. During Pol Pot's rule there was a complete negation of man as an individual, of his right to his own views and feelings and a deep hatred for intellectuals and dissidents..."

The playwright himself never visited Kampuchea, and in the play the country is not named - it is only "a country in the jungle." But identifying the exact place is not important. What matters is exposing the essence of what happened.

A group of paranoiacs take over the country. They talk of a radiant future, of working for the good of the people, but in reality they seek to turn the nation into an obedient mass. The endless, cruel and senseless extermination of those who refuse to submit turns the rulers themselves into beasts who trample all human laws underfoot. Many people found the play cruel and too naturalistic, and they predicted that it would never be staged. But the play has been produced by Ali-Husein. Excerpts from it are to be published in the third issue of the magazine Teatralnaya Zhizn and the entire play in the magazine Sovremennaya Dramaturgiya.

ANNA SMIRNOVA

Put Pol Pot in the dock?

Dith Pran accuses.

The film "Killing Fields" (shown in Moscow during the American Film Days) is based on the life of Dith Pran. Today he is a photo correspondent with the New York Times, but he can never forget, let alone forgive, the suffering of the Kampuchean people.

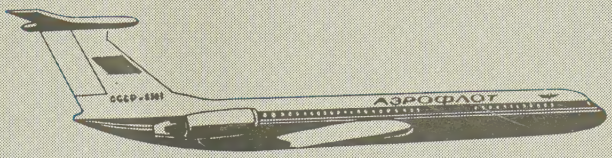
"That I managed to survive in the Pol Pot camps was a miracle," he said. "Something between two and three million of my countrymen were exterminated, half that number on direct orders of the leaders of the Red Khmers, who ruled the country from 1975 to 1979, and the rest from hunger and disease.

"It is amazing that many countries still support the Pol Pot regime. It is thanks to this support that the murderers still represent Kampuchea in the United Nations. It is important not only to denounce the Red Khmers, but also to prevent any possibility of a repetition of their crimes in long-suffering Kampuchea. There are signs of a peaceful settlement of the conflict. But one should not forget that the Pol Pot clique will try to return to power again after the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea. Believe me, they will resume their reign of terror," Dith Pran warned.

A group of scientists and public figures in the United States set up a Cambodia Documentation Commission on the initiative of the former leader of the American branch of Amnesty International. It collected information about the mass killings, torture and other crimes committed by the Red Khmer leaders. In the words of Nobel Prize winner Elie Wiesel, who is a member of the commission, Pol Pot's victims will be killed again, if we allow them to be forgotten.

Dith Pran said that last April he and four of his compatriots who had survived the genocide appealed to President Reagan to bring the Pol Pot clique to trial. "We and the Cambodia Documentation Commission that backed us hope that one of the 70 governments that ratified the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide adopted in 1948 will appeal to the International Court of Justice in The Hague to make the murderers stand trial."

ALEXANDER POLUKHOV
our own correspondent
Stockholm



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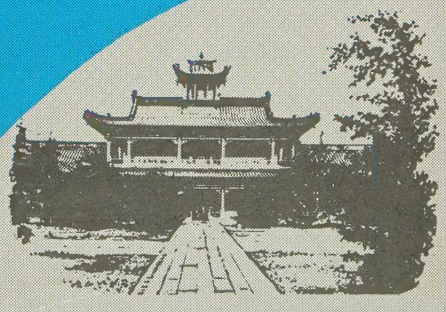
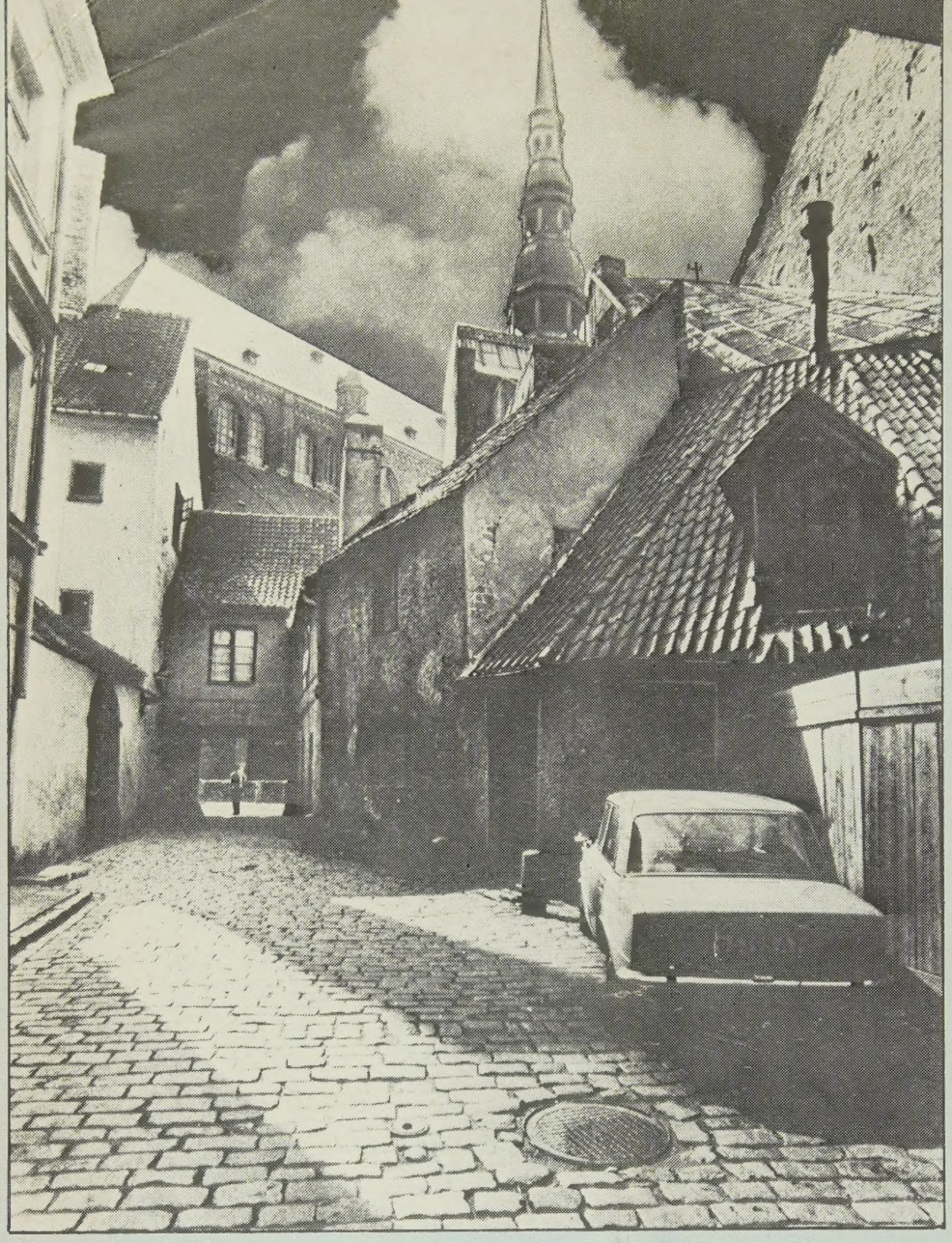


АЭРОФЛОТ

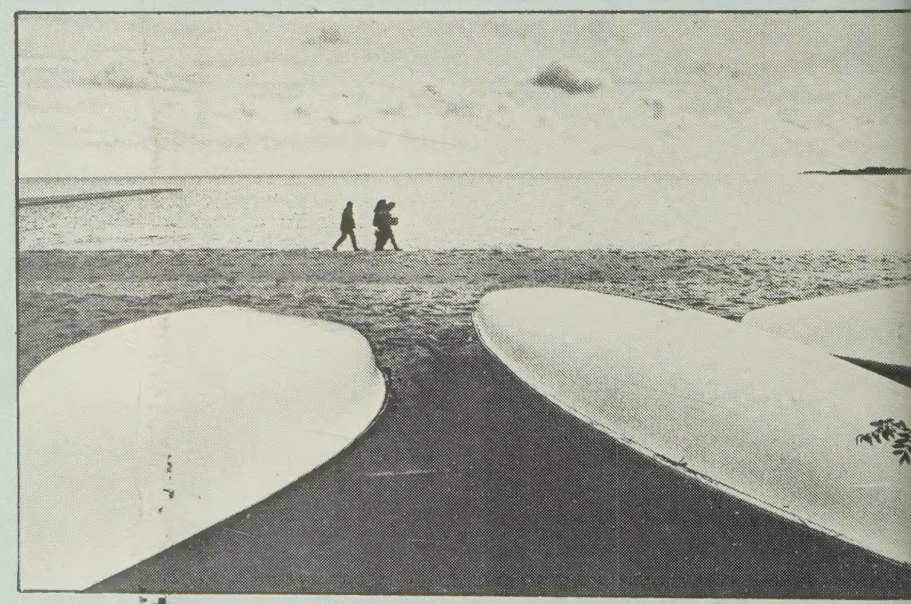
Soviet airlines



Konstantin Kokoshkin (U.S.S.R.)

In old Riga.

End of season.



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